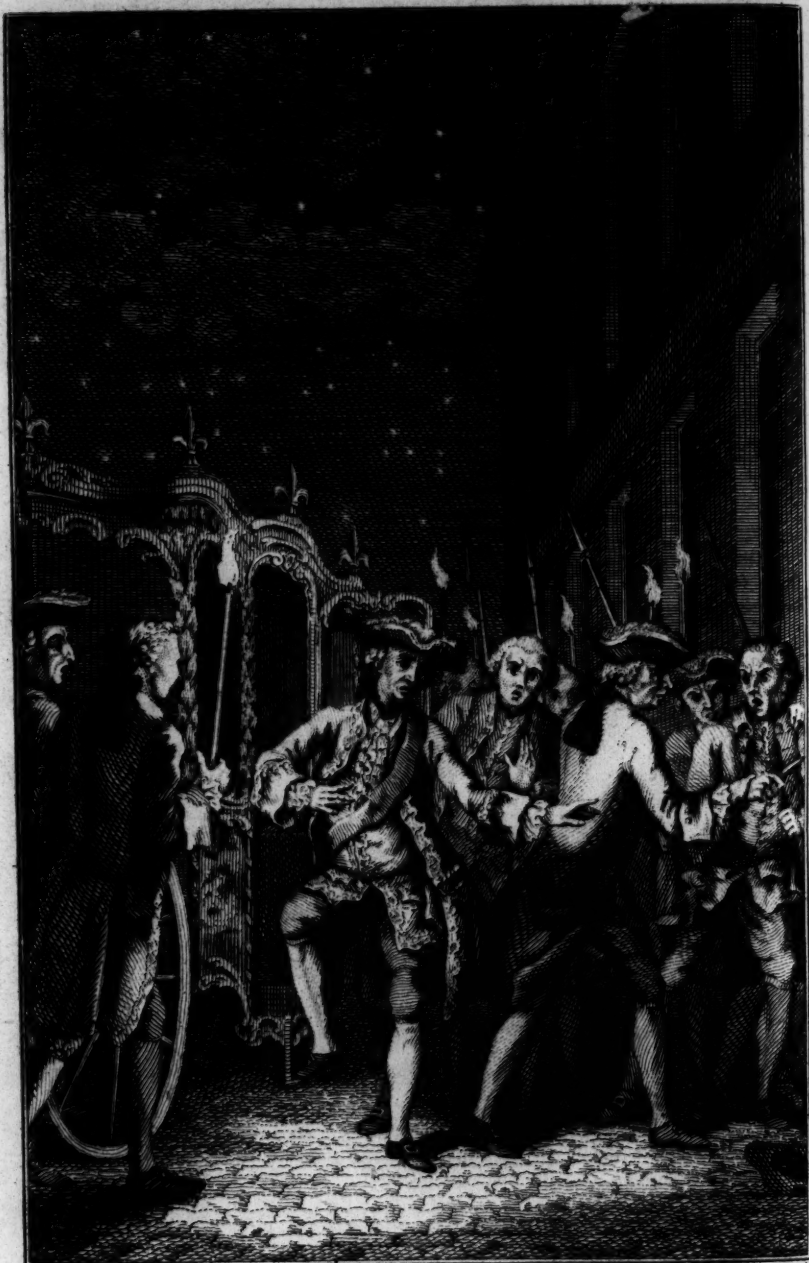




Wale del.
Lewis the 15.th King of France stab'd by Damiens.
J. Collyer sculp.

THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
NOTES, HISTORICAL, CRITICAL,
AND EXPLANATORY.

By T. FRANKLIN, D.D.
Chaplain to his Majesty, and late Greek Professor in
the University of Cambridge.

T. SMOLLETT, M.D.
AND OTHERS.

A NEW EDITION.

VOLUME XXIII.

L O N D O N,

Printed for S. CROWDER, T. LONGMAN, J. WILKIE,
CARNAN and NEWBERRY, G. ROBINSON, R. BALD-
WIN, J. JOHNSON, F. NEWBERRY, W. GOLDSMITH,
T. EVANS, and W. FOX.

MDCCLXXX.



43.

8.

8.

54

THE
PROSE WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

VOL. XXIII.

C O N T E N T S

OF THE

TWENTY-THIRD VOLUME.

<i>OF the possessions of the English and Dutch in America,</i>	Page 1
<i>Of Paraguay. Of the power of the Jesuits in that part of the world, and of their disputes with the Spaniards and Portuguese,</i>	10
<i>Of the Mogul,</i>	20
<i>Of Persia,</i>	22
<i>Of the Ottoman empire in the sixteenth century,</i>	23
<i>Of the coast of Barbary,</i>	24
<i>Of the kingdom of Fez and Morocco,</i>	25
<i>A brief account of some of the principal transactions of the council of Trent,</i>	28
<i>Death of Henry III.</i>	52
<i>Of Henry IV.</i>	54
<i>On the cardinal de Richelieu's obtaining a dispensation from the pope, to pass sentence of death upon Marillac,</i>	64
<i>Administration of cardinal de Richelieu. On the marriage of Gaston, brother of Lewis XIII. with Margaret of Lorraine,</i>	ibid.
<i>On the creation of twenty-four new counsellors of parliament,</i>	65
<i>On the Jesuit Caussin, the king's confessor,</i>	66
<i>At the end of the chapter of the administration of cardinal Richelieu,</i>	67
<i>Of Spain, under Philip IV.</i>	68
	<i>At</i>

CONTENTS.

<i>At the end of the chapter relating to Philip IV.</i>	69
<i>Of the misfortunes of Charles I. and of the Irish massacre,</i>	72
<i>Reflections on the declaration of Charles I. concerning religion,</i>	73
<i>Of Oliver Cromwell,</i>	74
<i>Of England, under Charles II.</i>	75
<i>Of Italy in the sixteenth century,</i>	84
<i>Of Sweden and Poland,</i>	ibid.
<i>Of Sabatei Sevi, the false Messiah,</i>	85
<i>Siege of Vienna by the Turks,</i>	87
<i>Of China,</i>	ibid.
<i>Recapitulation of the foregoing history,</i>	89
<i>Introduction to the age of Lewis XIV. In speaking of the four ages or centuries, of which the last is that of Lewis XIV.</i>	100
<i>Rome. On the bishops styling themselves such by the divine permission, and that of the holy see,</i>	101
<i>Civil wars. The end of the second,</i>	102
<i>Third civil war,</i>	ibid.
<i>Of the duke of Beaufort,</i>	104
<i>Condition of France under the administration of cardinal Mazarine. On the death of Cromwell,</i>	105
<i>Magnificence of Lewis XIV. On the bull of divorce granted by the pope to the queen of Portugal, on the supposed impotence of her husband.</i>	ibid.
<i>End of the chapter, which concludes with the death of Conde,</i>	106
<i>Of Colbert and Fouquet,</i>	107
<i>On St. Evremont,</i>	108
<i>Lewis XIV. Government,</i>	ibid.
<i>Lewis XIV. Finances,</i>	109
<i>Of Calvinism,</i>	111
<i>Of Jansenism, at the end of the chapter,</i>	113
<i>Of quietism,</i>	ibid.
<i>On</i>	<i>On</i>

CONTENTS.

<i>On the canonization of Mary D' Agreda,</i>	114
<i>On the charge of heresy against Fenelon,</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>End of the chapter of, quietism,</i>	115
<i>End of the chapter relating to the Chinese ceremonies,</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Writers in the age of Lewis XIV. After the article Bayle</i>	121
<i>After the article La Bruiere,</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>After the article Desmarets, &c.</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Fontenelle</i>	122
<i>Article of Gedouin,</i>	124
<i>Article of count Hamilton,</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>Article of Helvetius,</i>	125
<i>At the end of the article of La Motte Houdart,</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>After the article Nicole,</i>	126
<i>At the end of the article Rousseau,</i>	127
<i>At the end of the article De La Rue,</i>	128
<i>After the article James Saurin,</i>	129
<i>At the end of the chapter of celebrated artists,</i>	131
<i>General view of Europe, after the death of Lewis XIV. Beginning of the chapter,</i>	132
<i>End of the chapter concerning Law and his system,</i>	133
<i>To begin the chapter, intituled, Continuation of the General View of Europe till the year 1756.</i>	<i>ibid.</i>
<i>At the end of the chapter,</i>	138
<i>Death of the emperor Charles VI. The Imperial succession disputed by four powers. The queen of Hungary acknowledged in all her father's dominions. Silesia seized by the king of Prussia,</i>	141
<i>The king of France unites with the kings of Prussia and Poland, to advance Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, to the Imperial throne. That prince is declared a lieutenant-general in the service of France. He is elected emperor. His successes and rapid losses,</i>	150
	<i>Rapid</i>

CONTENTS.

<i>Rapid disasters which followed the successes of the emperor Charles Albert of Bavaria. Every thing retrieved again by Lewis XV. and marshal Saxe,</i>	161
<i>At the beginning of the chapter concerning the war between France and England in the year 1756,</i>	165
<i>The war in Germany. An elector of Brandenburg alone opposes the houses of Austria and Bourbon, and the empires of Germany and Russia. Memorable events,</i>	167
<i>Continuation of memorable events. The English army obliged to capitulate. The affair of Rosbach. Revolutions,</i>	176
<i>The English victorious in the four quarters of the world,</i>	182
<i>The interior government of France. Disputes and encounters from the year 1750 to the year 1762,</i>	189
<i>Plot to assassinate the king of Portugal. The Jesuits driven out of that kingdom, and great part of France,</i>	215
<i>Of a remarkable circumstance relating to literature,</i>	222
<i>Conclusion, and review of this historical portrait,</i>	226



ADDITIONS

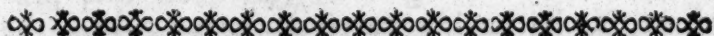
TO THE

ESSAY ON GENERAL HISTORY,

AND

The Manners and Spirit of Nations,
from CHARLEMAGNE to the present
Time.

PART II.



Of the POSSESSIONS of the ENGLISH and
DUTCH in AMERICA.

THE English, who as being islanders,
T are necessarily become more practised
in sea affairs than the French, have
acquired more advantageous settle-
ments in North America than the
latter. They are in possession of about six hun-
dred leagues of coast from Carolina to Hudson's
Bay, by which they have long but vainly endea-
B voured

voured to find a passage into the South Seas, and so to Japan. The English settlements in America were not near so valuable as those of the Spaniards; the former have produced, at least hitherto, neither gold, silver, indigo, cochineal, precious stones, nor wood for dying; and yet they have proved very advantageous to the possessors. The English territories on the Terra Firma begin about ten degrees from our tropic, in a most delicious country called Carolina. Here the French have never been able to effect any settlement; and the English did not take possession of it till they had secured the coast to the northwards.

You have seen the Spaniards and Portuguese masters of almost all the New World, from the Straights of Magellan to Florida: next to Florida is Carolina, to which the English have of late years added another part to the southward, called Georgia, from the name of their king, George I. They have been in possession of Carolina ever since the year 1664. That which bestows the greatest lustre on this province is, its having received its laws from the admirable Locke: a perfect liberty of conscience, and an universal toleration in point of religion, from the basis of these laws. Here the episcopals live in brotherly union with the puritans; they even admit of the Catholics, their natural enemies, to exercise their religion undisturbed, as also the Indians, who are called idolaters; but the laws require that there shall be seven heads of families to establish any particular sect or religion within that government. Locke wisely considered that seven families, with their slaves, might amount to 5 or 600 souls, and that it would be an act of injustice

GENERAL HISTORY. 3

to deprive such a number of persons from serving God in their own way; and that under such a restraint they might be tempted to quiet the colony.

Marriages in one half of this country are performed only in the presence of a magistrate; but those who have an inclination to add the benediction of the priest to this civil contract, may have that satisfaction.

These laws were received with admiration, after the torrents of blood that had been shed throughout all Europe, by the spirit of enthusiasm and persecution. But they were laws that would never have entered into the imagination of either the Greeks or Romans, as they could never have conceived, that there would be a time in which men would force each other to embrace a particular faith, sword in hand. By this humane code it is ordered, that the negroes shall be treated with the same humanity as domestic servants. In the year 1657, there were in the province of Carolina 40,000 blacks and 20,000 whites.

Beyond Carolina is Virginia, a colony so named in honour of the virgin queen Elizabeth, and first peopled by the famous Raleigh, who afterwards met with so cruel a return for all his public-spirited labour, from James I. It cost immense pains to settle this colony; for the savage natives, who were a more warlike people than the Mexicans, and who saw themselves as unjustly attacked, almost totally destroyed it at its first establishment.

It has been said, that since the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which impolitic step added thousands of subjects to both worlds, at the ex-

pence of France, the number of inhabitants in Virginia have amounted to 140,000, without reckoning the negroes. In this province and in Maryland they apply themselves chiefly to the culture of tobacco, which forms an immense branch of trade, and is another of our new artificial wants, which did not take place till very lately, and which is now grown powerful by example; as you may perceive, when I tell you that it was looked upon as the greatest impoliteness at the court of Lewis XIV. for any one to thrust this dirty stimulating dust up his nose. The first farm of tobacco in France did not bring in to the proprietors above 300,000 livres *per annum*, at present it is worth 16 millions. The French lay out very near four millions a year, in this weed, with the English colonies, when they themselves might plant it in Louisiana: and here I cannot forbear remarking, that France and England at present consume, in commodities unknown to their forefathers, more than the whole revenues of both crowns were formerly worth.

To the northward of Virginia is the province of Maryland, containing 40,000 white people and about 60,000 blacks. Beyond this lies Pennsylvania, a country differing from all the rest of the world by the singular manners of its inhabitants. This country received its name and laws, in the year 1680, from one William Penn, the head of a new sect, which have very improperly been called *Quakers*. This was not an usurped power, as were most of those invasions which we have seen both in the old and new world. Penn purchased these lands of the real natives, and became a lawful proprietor

GENERAL HISTORY. 5

proprietor in the most rigid sense of the word. The christian doctrine, which he carried along with him there, differs as much from that acknowledged in every other part of Europe, as his colony does from every other colony. He and his companions professed the same simplicity and equality which prevailed among the primitive disciples of Christ. They knew no other religious tenets but those which proceeded extempore from the lips, and which were all confined to the love of God and their fellow creatures. They did not admit baptism, because Christ baptised no one. They had no priest, because Christ himself was the only teacher and pastor of his first disciples. Here I perform only the duty of a faithful historian, and shall further add, that if Penn and his followers erred in their theology (that inexhaustible source of misfortunes and disputes), they at least excelled all other people in the strictness of their morals. Though situated in the midst of twelve small nations, whom we term savages, they have never had the least dispute with any of them; on the contrary, these have always looked upon them in the light of fathers and arbitrators. Penn and his primitive followers, who are called quakers, but to whom we ought to give no other title than that of *the Upright*, made it a maxim never to go to war with any one, nor to law with each other. They had no judges amongst them, but only arbitrators, who accommodated all differences in law in an amicable manner, and without expence. They had no physicians, for they were a sober people, and consequently did not stand in need of them.

The province of Pensylvania was for a long time without soldiers, till the government of late years, while at war with France, sent some regiments over from England for the defence of this country. Take away the name of *quakers*, and that barbarous and disagreeable habit of throwing their bodies into a variety of ridiculous convulsions in their religious assemblies, and it must be confessed, that there is not a more venerable society of men in the world. Their colony is as flourishing as their manners are pure. Philadelphia (or the City of the Brethren), which is their capital, is one of the most beautiful cities in the universe; and in the year 1740 contained upwards of 80,000 souls. But the inhabitants are not all of them quakers, one half of them consisting of Germans, Swedes, and other nations, which altogether form seventeen different religions; and yet the quakers, who have the chief government, treat them all as brethren.

Beyond this singular spot of the globe, where affrighted peace hath sheltered herself, when chased from every other part, we come to New England, whose capital is Boston, the richest city on all that coast.

This city was at first peopled and governed by puritans, who had fled from the persecution raised against them in England by the famous Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, whose head afterwards payed for his persecutions, and whose fate was a prelude to that of his weak and unfortunate master Charles I. These puritans, who were a kind of Calvinists, took refuge in this country, afterwards called New England, in the year 1620; and it might be said of them
and

GENERAL HISTORY. 7

and the episcopal party who persecuted them in England, that they were tygers who made war upon bears; for these latter brought over with them to America their gloomy and morose disposition, by which they miserably harrassed the pacific Pensylvanians when they came first to settle near them. But in the year 1692, these puritans proved a heavy scourge to themselves, by the most unaccountable epidemic madness that ever possessed the human race.

At the time when Europe was beginning to emerge from the abyss of horrible superstition and ignorance in which it had been plunged for such a number of ages; and that witchcraft and the power of evil spirits was no longer regarded in England and other civilized nations but as ancient prejudices and follies at which all reasonable men blushed; the puritans revived them in America. A young woman happening to be seized with convulsions in the year 1692, a holder-forth accuses an old maid-servant in the family of having bewitched her, and the poor old woman is obliged to confess herself a witch. Upon this half of the inhabitants believe themselves bewitched, and accuse the other half of the black art; the populace rise and threaten to hang the judges, if they do not order the accused persons to be hanged. Thus for two years nothing was talked of but witchcraft, witches, and hanging; and they were countrymen of the great Locke and Newton who were seized with this madness. At length the malady abated, and the people of New England, being a little come to themselves, were amazed, and ashamed at their outrageous folly. They now applied themselves to trade and hus-

bandry, and their colony soon became the most flourishing of any; insomuch, that in the year 1750, it contained near 150,000 inhabitants, which is ten times the number that the French have in their settlements.

From New England we come to New York or Acadia, which has been the subject of so much discord and bloodshed; and Newfoundland, where the great cod-fishery is carried on; and then, after having sailed some way to the eastward, we arrive at Hudson's Bay, by which it has been vainly hoped to find out a shorter passage to the extremities of the eastern and western hemispheres.

The islands which the English possess in America have proved almost as profitable to them as their continent. Jamaica, Barbadoes, and some others, where they grow sugar, have turned out exceedingly profitable, not only on account of their own manufactures, but of the trade carried on from them with New Spain, which is so much the more advantageous as it is prohibited.

The Dutch, who are so powerful in the East Indies, are hardly known in America; the little colony of Surinam, in the neighbourhood of the Brasils, being the only territory of any consequence that they are possessed of in that part of the world. Thither they have carried the genius of their country, which is to cut their lands into canals. They have made a new Amsterdam at Surinam as well as at Batavia, and the island of Curaçoa yields them a considerable profit. Lastly, the Danes have of late been possessed of three small islands, and have opened a very beneficial trade, through the encouragement their king has given them.

This

GENERAL HISTORY. 9

This is all that the Europeans have done of any consequence, at present, in this fourth part of the globe.

There yet remains a fifth, which is that of the *Terra Australis*, or Antarctic land, of which only a small part of the sea-coast and some few islands, have, as yet, been discovered. If we comprehend under the name of this new southern world the Papous-land and New Guinea, which begin even under the equator, it is evident that this part of the world is by far the most extensive of any.

Magellan discovered the Antarctic land, in 1520, lying in 51 degrees south declination; but these frozen climes proved no temptation to the masters of Peru. Since that time several immense countries have been discovered to the southward of the Indies, and in particular New Holland, which stretches from the 10th to the 30th degree. The Dutch Batavia company are said to be in possession of several advantageous settlements in this country; but it is not very easy to carry on a trade, and be masters of whole provinces unknown to the rest of the world. It is not unlikely that this fifth portion of the globe may yet be visited by some new adventurers, from whom we may learn that nature has not neglected these climes; that she exhibits her usual variety and profusion in them, as well as throughout the rest of the world.

But hitherto we know little or nothing of these immense countries, except that there are some wild and uncultivated coasts where Pelsart and his companions, in 1630, found black men who walked upon their hands as upon feet; a bay where Tasman, in 1642, was attacked by

a people with yellow complexions, armed with clubs and arrows; and another where Dampier, in 1649, had an engagement with a race of negroes who had no fore-teeth in their upper jaws. We have not yet penetrated into this segment of the globe; and it must be confessed, that it is better to improve and cultivate our own countries, than to go in search of the frozen regions and motley-coloured animals of the southern pole.

OF PARAGUAY.

Of the power of the Jesuits in that part of the world, and of their disputes with the Spaniards and Portuguese.

THE conquest of Mexico and of Peru are prodigies of human boldness: the cruelties which were exercised there, and the total extirpation of the inhabitants of St. Domingo and some other islands, the utmost stretch of human barbarity: but the settlement of Paraguay, established only by a few Spanish jesuits, appears the triumph of humanity, and seems in some measure to make attonement for the cruelties of the first conquerors. The quakers of America, and the jesuits of Paraguay, have exhibited a new spectacle to the world. The former have softened the rugged manners of the savages bordering on Pennsylvania; they have won them to instruction by the mere force of example, without making any attempt upon their liberties; and have procured them new conveniencies of life, by bringing them acquainted

GENERAL HISTORY. 11

acquainted with trade. The jesuits have indeed made use of religion to deprive the inhabitants of Paraguay of their liberties; but, on the other hand, they have civilized them, have taught them to be industrious, and have succeeded in governing a vast country, in the same manner as a convent is governed in Europe. Upon examination, the quakers appear to have acted the most justly, and the jesuits the most politically. The former considered the attempt to reduce their neighbours under subjection in the light of a crime; the latter made a virtue of subduing savages by mildness and instruction.

Paraguay is a vast country, lying between Brasil, Peru, and Chili. The Spaniards, who made themselves masters of this coast, founded the city of Buenos Ayres, a place of great trade on the river la Plata; but with all their power they were too few in number to conquer the swarms of natives that dwelt in the midst of the forests, and whom, however, it was necessary to subject, in order to facilitate to themselves a passage from Buenos Ayres to Peru. In this conquest, the jesuits assisted them much more effectually than their soldiers could have done. These missionaries penetrated by degrees into the heart of the country in the 17th century. Some of the savage natives, who had been taken when young, and bred up in Buenos Ayres, served them both as guides and interpreters. The fatigues and labours they underwent, equalled, if not exceeded, those of the conquerors of the new world. The courage inspired by religion is at least as great as that which actuates the warrior in pursuit of fame. They were discouraged by no difficulties, and

at length they succeeded in the manner following:

The cows, sheep, and oxen, which had been brought from Europe to Buenos Ayres, having multiplied prodigiously, they took a great number of these with them, as likewise several waggon-loads of all kinds of instruments of husbandry and architecture. They sowed some plains which they found on their way with the several sorts of European grain, and made a present of the whole to the savages, whom they thus lured to their purpose, as animals are caught with a bait. These nations consisted only in a number of families, who lived separate from each other, without society, or the knowledge of religion. They were, however, soon brought into the former, by having new wants given them from the new productions with which they were supplied. The missionaries in the next place, with the assistance of some of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, endeavoured to teach them to sow and till the ground, make bricks, hew timber, and build houses. In a short time, these wild and uncivilized people were wholly transformed, and became useful and obedient subjects to their benefactors; and though they did not immediately become profelytes to christianity, the doctrine of which was above their comprehension, their children, by being bred up in that religion, soon became thorough christians.

This settlement, in its beginning, consisted only of fifty families, which, in the year 1750, were encreased to an hundred thousand. The jesuits, in the space of one century, have formed thirty cantons, to which they have given
the

GENERAL HISTORY. 13

the name of the *Country of the Missions*; each canton at present contains 10,000 inhabitants. One father Florentin, a Franciscan friar, who was at Paraguay, in the year 1711, and who in every page of his narrative, expresses his admiration of this new government, says that the village of St. Xavier, in which he lived a considerable time, contained at least 30,000 souls: from whence we may conclude, with some degree of certainty, that the jesuits have raised upwards of 400,000 subjects by mere persuasion.

If any thing can give us a clear idea of this colony, it is the ancient Lacedemonian government. All things are in common in Paraguay: and the use of gold and silver is unknown to these people, though bordering on the mines of Peru. The essential character of a Spartan was obedience to the laws of Lycurgus; that of an inhabitant of Paraguay has hitherto been obedience to the laws of the jesuits: in a word, there seems to be a perfect resemblance between the two people, save only, that those of Paraguay have no slaves to till their lands, or hew their timber, as the Spartans had; but are themselves slaves to the jesuits.

This country is indeed dependant in spiritual matters on the bishop of Buenos Ayres, and in temporals, on the governor of that city. It is also subject to the king of Spain, in like manner as the provinces of La Plata and Chili; but the jesuits, the original founders of this colony, have always maintained an absolute government over the people whom they formed. They gave the king of Spain a piastre per head for each of their subjects; and this they pay to the
governor

governor of Buenos Ayres, either in money or commodities; they only are possessed of the former, for the subjects never touch it. This is the only mark of vassalage which the Spanish government has thought requisite to demand of them. But the governor of Buenos Ayres cannot appoint any person to any office, either military or civil, in the jesuits country; nor can the bishop send so much as a parish priest thither.

An attempt was once made to send two curates to the villages of Our Lady of Faith and St. Ignatius, and they even took the precaution to send a guard of soldiers with them; but the people of both villages quitted their habitations, and divided themselves among the other cantons; and the two curates, finding themselves left alone, returned back to Buenos Ayres.

Another bishop, incensed at hearing of this affront, which had been put upon his predecessor, resolved to establish the customary church-government throughout the country of Missions. For this purpose, he invited all the clergy in his jurisdiction, to repair to him on a day appointed, in order to receive their respective charges; but no one dared to appear. We have this fact related by the jesuits themselves, in one of their memorials, which they published. Thus then, they commenced absolute masters in spiritual affairs, and no less so in the civil. They, indeed, allow a passage through their country to the officers that the governor sends to Peru; but those officers are not permitted to stay above three days in the country, during which time they must not converse with any
of

of the inhabitants; and tho' they come in the king's name, they are treated exactly like foreigners, who are suspected of being spies. The jesuits, who have always been careful to preserve appearances, make use of religion as a pretext to justify this behaviour, which might be construed into disobedience and contempt. And they declared to the council of the Indies, at Madrid, that they could not consent to receive a Spaniard into their provinces, lest he should corrupt the manners of the natives; and this reason, which carries with it such an insult upon their own country, has been admitted as satisfactory by the kings of Spain, who could not hope for any assistance from the Paraguayans, but on this extraordinary condition, which is a reproach and disgrace to a nation so proud and tenacious of their honour as the Spaniards.

The form of government in this nation, the only one of its kind in the known world, is as follows: The provincial, or jesuit-governor, with the assistance of his council, frames the laws; and each rector, assisted by another council, takes care that they are observed; a person is chosen from among the body of inhabitants of each canton, as a justice of the peace *, and has under him a lieutenant. These two officers

* The French term is *Un Procureur Fiscal*, which is a kind of attorney, who prosecutes within his jurisdiction all causes where-in the public are interested; but in this place his office seems rather to be that of a justice of the peace, (as I have ventured to render it,) for the particular canton, in which he is chosen; and that of his lieutenant, a constable. We have no term in English which answers to the French but attorney-general, which is too extensive in the sense here meant.

go round their district every day, and give an account to the superior of whatever passes.

Every village carries on some manufactory; and the workmen in each profession meet together, and perform their occupations in common, and in the presence of their overseers, who are appointed by the fiscal. The jesuits furnish the hemp, cotton, and flax, which the inhabitants work up. They also give out the grain to be sown, which is reaped in common; and the whole produce of the harvest deposited in the public magazines, from whence each family is supplied with what it wants for its subsistence, and the remainder is sold at Buenos Ayres, or Peru.

The Paraguayans keep flocks; they raise corn, pease, indigo, cotton, hemp, sugar-canes, jalap, ipecacuanha, and a plant called *Paraguay-Grass*, which is a kind of tea, greatly esteemed in South America, and of which they make a considerable traffic. These commodities are returned in goods and specie; the former the jesuits distribute among the inhabitants, and the gold and silver they make use of to decorate their churches, and to answer the calls of the government. Each canton has an arsenal or military storehouse, from whence on certain days they give out arms to such of the inhabitants who know how to make use of them. A jesuit superintends the exercise, which is performed in a regular manner, and after it is over, the arms are all returned again into the store, no inhabitant being allowed to keep arms in his house. The same principle which has made these people the most tractable of all subjects, has likewise made them excellent soldiers. They fight as they obey, from a belief that it is their duty.

duty. Their assistance has been more than once necessary against the Portuguese of Brasil, the Banditti, who are known by the name of Mammelucs, and the Musqueto savages, who were a race of cannibals. They have always been headed by jesuits in these expeditions, and have always fought with courage, order, and success.

In the year 1662, when the Spaniards laid siege to the city of St. Sacramento, of which the Portuguese had made themselves masters, and which gave birth to such extraordinary accidents, a jesuit brought 4000 Paraguayans to the assistance of the former, who scaled the walls of the town, and entered the place sword in hand. And here I must not omit one circumstance, which will shew that these monks, who were used to command, understood their business much better than the governor of Buenos Ayres, who was at the head of the Spanish forces. This general, when the assault was going to be made, gave orders for placing a rank of horses in front of the men, in order, that the cannon from the enemies ramparts having spent their fire upon these creatures, the soldiers might advance with less danger; but the jesuit, who headed the Paraguayans, represented the folly and danger of such a scheme, and ordered the place to be attacked in the usual way.

The manner in which these people fought for the Spaniards shewed that they would not be at a loss to defend themselves upon occasion, and that it would be dangerous to attempt to make any change in their government. It is certain, that the jesuits have already formed to themselves an empire in Paraguay, of about

400 leagues in circumference, and that they have it in their power to add to its extent.

Though vassals, in all appearance, to the crown of Spain, they are in effect kings, and perhaps the best obeyed of any kings upon earth. They have been at once founders, legislators, pontiffs, and sovereigns.

A government of a constitution altogether so new and extraordinary and established in another hemisphere, is an effect perhaps the most distant from its cause that was ever known to the world. We have for a considerable time seen priests possessed of sovereign authority in Europe; but they attained to this rank, which seems so opposite to their real condition, by a gradual and natural progression. They obtained considerable lands, and these lands, like most others, have in time become fiefs and principalities. But the jesuits had nothing given them in Paraguay; and they have made themselves absolute sovereigns, without even pretending to be proprietors of a foot of land. In a word, every thing has been of their own creation.

But having at length abused their power, they have lost great part of it; for when the crown of Spain ceded the city of St. Sacrament, together with its vast dependencies to the Portuguese, the jesuits had the boldness to oppose this convention; the people whom they governed would not consent to be under the Portuguese government, and for some time resisted both their old and new masters.

If we may credit the *Relacio abbreviada*, the Portuguese general d'Andrado wrote to the Spanish general Valdareos, in the year 1750, in these terms: "The jesuits are the only rebels. Their
" Indians

GENERAL HISTORY. 19

"Indians have twice attacked the Portuguese fort of Pardo, with a considerable train of artillery." The same relation adds, that the Indians cut off the heads of their prisoners, and carried them to their commanders the jesuits. Although this charge may be true, it does not seem very probable.

It is however certain, that in the year 1757, there was an insurrection in one of their provinces called St. Nicholas, when some mutineers took the field, to the number of 13,000, under the command of two jesuits named Lamp and Tadeo; and this gave rise to a report, which was generally believed, that one of the jesuits had caused himself to be proclaimed king of Paraguay, by the name of Nicholas I.

While the monks of this order were carrying on a war against the kings of Spain and Portugal, in America, their brethren in Europe were the confessors of those very kings. But of late we have seen them accused of rebellion, and an intent to murder their lawful king in Lisbon, entirely driven out of Portugal in the year 1758, and violently persecuted at the court of Madrid. The Portuguese government have cleared all their American colonies of them; but they still remain masters of all that part of Paraguay which belongs to Spain, where it is very difficult to get at them, and where they still continue to share the sovereign authority with the crown of Spain, over an immense tract of country. This is an example hitherto not paralleled in the history of the universe. It shall be the subject of some future pages to shew why the whole earth seems to have taken up arms against

against them, and why the see of Rome alone has declared herself their protectress.

Of the MOGUL.

Vol. IV. ch. 129. **T**Hough there were several Indian astronomers who understood the calculating of eclipses, yet the common people could not be brought to believe otherwise than that the sun was fallen into the throat of a great dragon, and that the only way to free him from thence, was by standing naked in the water, and making a hideous noise to frighten the dragon, and oblige him to let go his hold. This notion, which is so generally prevalent among the orientals, is an evident proof how much the symbols of religion and natural philosophy have at all times been perverted by the common people. The astronomers of all ages have been wont to distinguish the two points of intersection, upon which every eclipse happens, and which are called the *Lunar Nodes*, by marking them with a dragon's head and tail. Now the vulgar, who are equally ignorant in every part of the world, took the symbol or sign for the thing itself. Thus, when the astronomers said the sun is in the dragon's head, the dragon is going to swallow up the sun, said the common people; and yet these people were remarkable for their fondness for astrology. But while we laugh at the ignorance and credulity of the Indians, we do not reflect that there are no less than 300,000 almanacks sold in Europe, all of them filled

filled with observations and predictions equally false and absurd with any to be met with among the Indians: for is it not as reasonable to say that the sun is in the mouth or the claws of a dragon, as to tell people every year, in print, that they must not sow, nor plant, nor take physic, nor be bled, but on certain days of the moon. It is high time, in an age like our's, that some men of learning would think it worth their while to compose a calendar that might be of real use to the industrious husbandmen, and instruct instead of deceiving them.

* * *

Id. page 138.] We are told by a missionary of undoubted credit, that in the year 1710, forty wives of the prince of Marava threw themselves alive upon his funeral pile, and were burnt with the dead corpse of their lord. The same author also says, that in the year 1717, two princes of that country being dead, seventeen wives of the one, and thirteen of the other, devoted themselves to death in the same manner; and that the last, being with child, waited till she was delivered, and then threw herself into the flames. The missionary adds further, that these examples are more frequent among the principal castes, or classes, than among the lower people; and this we find confirmed by other missionaries. The contrary should seem the most probable; for the wives of the grantees have more to attach them to life than the wives of handicrafts, or of hard working men; but unhappily, a notion of honour has been annexed to these voluntary sacrifices, and as women of rank are more susceptible of a love
of

of glory than the vulgar, and that the Bramins always claim the garments and ornaments worn by the unhappy victims on such occasions, these latter have found it more their interest to encourage this delusion in the rich than in the poor.

Of P E R S I A.

Vol. IV. **A**Mong the many causes of complaint alledged by the Persians against their enemies the Turks, the chief has always been the murder of Haly, though the Turks certainly were not the murderers of that prophet, as there was no such people as Turks then existing. But in this manner do the common people in general reason; and it is surprizing that they did not sooner take advantage of this mutual hatred to establish a new sect.

Of the OTTOMAN Empire in the Sixteenth Century.

Vol. IV. ch. 131. **A**FTER the death of Tuman-
 page 250. bai, or Toman Bey, the
 last king of the Mammelukes, the people of
 Egypt sunk into the lowest state of abjection :
 and they who are said to have been a brave and
 warlike race in the reign of Sesostris, are now
 more effeminate and dastardly than even in the
 time of Cleopatra. We are told that Egypt
 gave birth to the sciences, and now not one is
 cultivated there ; that her people were sedate
 and grave, now they are volatile and unthink-
 ing, dancing and singing to the music of their
 own chains ; the prodigious number of her in-
 habitants, which are said to have passed all
 counting, are now reduced to three millions at
 the most. Rome nor Athens have not experi-
 enced a greater change than this country, which
 is an undeniable proof, that though a climate
 may have some influence on the dispositions of
 men, yet the government has a much greater.

Of the Coast of BARBARY.

Vol. IV. **A** Late dey of Algiers said to an ch. 132. English consul who was complaining to him of some prizes his corsairs had made, "Never complain to the captain of a gang that you have been robbed." Throughout all the northern parts of Africa, we continually meet with monuments of the ancient Romans, whereas there are not the least footsteps of any thing belonging to the Christians, notwithstanding there were many more bishopricks here than in France and Spain put together. There are two reasons to be assigned for this; the one is, that the very antient structures of hard stone, or of marble and cement, withstand the attack of time in a dry climate better than the more modern edifices; the other, that monuments, with the inscription *Diis Manibus* on them, which the Barbarians do not understand, do not consequently awaken their displeasure so much as the sight of the symbols of the Christian religion, to which they are such bitter enemies.

In the polite ages of Arabia, the arts and sciences flourished among the Numidians; at present those people cannot so much as regulate their year; and, though perpetually exercising the trade of pirates, they have not one pilot capable of taking an observation, nor one good ship-builder among them; but buy their ships, cordage, guns, and gunpowder of us Christians, and in particular of the Dutch; and with these they afterwards take our merchant ships, while the
the

the powers of Christendom, instead of uniting to crush their common enemy, are busied in mutually destroying each other.

Of the Kingdom of FEZ and Morocco.

Vol. IV. **T**HIS empire reaches to the frontiers of Guinea, in a most pleasant climate; few territories are more rich and fruitful, or abound with greater variety. Several branches of Mount Atlas are full of mines, and the level country produces great abundance of all kinds of grain, and some of the best fruits in the world. This country was formerly cultivated as it deserved. This must have been under the first caliphs, since we find the arts and sciences were then in high estimation; and these are generally the last matters attended to. The Moors and Arabians of this country carried their arts and their arms with them into Spain; but every thing has since degenerated and fallen into a state of ignorance and barbarism. The Mahometan Arabians, who civilized this country, have since retired into the deserts, where they lead a pastoral life; and the government has been left to the Moors, a race of men less favoured by nature than their climate, and less industrious than the Arabians; a people at once cruel and slavish. Here we find despotic power reigning in all its horrors. The antient custom which obliges the Miramolins, or emperors of Morocco, to be the chief executioners in their kingdom, has not a little contributed to make the inhabitants of this vast empire infinitely greater savages than the Mexicans. Those of

Tetuan are a little more civilized ; but the rest of this nation are a disgrace to human nature. Several of the Jews driven out of Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella took refuge with their families in Tetuan, Mequinez, and Morocco, where they lead most miserable lives. The inhabitants of the northern provinces have intermixed with the blacks who live about the banks of the Niger.

* * *

There have been religious disputes in this kingdom, as well as in all others ; and a sect of Mussulmans, who pretended to be more orthodox than the rest, disposed of the throne ; which never happened at Constantinople. There have been likewise some civil wars ; but at length the dominions of Fez, Morocco, and Tafilet, were all united into one empire, in the seventeenth century, after the famous victory gained by the Moors over the unfortunate Don Sebastian, king of Portugal.

Notwithstanding the great degree of brutal stupidity into which this people are fallen, the Spaniards and Portuguese have never yet been able to take vengeance on them for their former slavery, and subject them in their turn. Oran, which is the frontier of their empire towards Spain, though once taken by cardinal Ximenes, who lost it again, and retaken a second time by the duke of Montemar, in the reign of Philip V. in 1730, since which time it has remained in the hands of the Spaniards, has not opened them a way to further conquests. Tangier, which might be the key of the empire, has never proved of any use to them : and lastly, Ceuta, taken by the Portuguese in the

year

year 1409, and afterwards by the Spaniards in the reign of Philip II. and who have kept it ever since, has been only a dead expence to them. Thus we find that the Moors subjected all Spain, whereas the Spaniards have as yet been able only to vex the Moors; and after having crossed the Atlantic ocean, and conquered a new world, have not the power to revenge themselves within five leagues of their own kingdom. The Moors, though badly armed, worse disciplined, and slaves to the most detestable of all governments, have hitherto bid defiance to all the attempts of the Christians to subject them. The true cause seems to lie in the constant and mutual dissensions of the latter amongst themselves. How, for instance, could the Spaniards cross over to Barbary with a force sufficient to subdue the Mussulmen, when they had their neighbours, the French, to fight against? Or, when at peace and in union with France, how could they engage in such an expedition, when the English had taken Gibraltar and Minorca from them?

It is somewhat extraordinary that there should be so great a number of Spanish, French, and English renegadoes in the empire of Morocco. We find a Spaniard of the name of Perez, admiral, under Mully Ismael; a Frenchman, named Pilet, governor of Sallee; an Irish woman mistress to the tyrant Ismael; and some natives of England settled as merchants at Tetuan. The hopes of making a fortune amongst an ignorant people has always carried Europeans to Africa, Asia, and America, particularly the latter. The contrary reason keeps the people of those regions from visiting us.

A

BRIEF ACCOUNT

OF SOME OF THE

PRINCIPAL TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

COUNCIL OF TRENT.

IN the midst of so many religious wars, and such a scene of disasters, the council of Trent was assembled. This council was the longest that had ever been held, and yet the most peaceable. It formed no schism like that of Basil, it lighted no fires like that of Constance, it did not pretend to depose crowned heads like that of Lyons, nor did it follow the example of the council of Lateran, which stripped the count of Thoulouse of his patrimony, and far less that of Rome, in which pope Gregory VII. kindled the flames of discord throughout Europe, by presuming to depose the emperor Henry IV. The third and fourth council of Constantinople, and the first and second of Nice, had been theatres of divisions and enmity; but this council of Trent was peaceable, or at least its disputes were neither public nor attended with consequences.

If there is any historical certainty, it is in what was written concerning this council by cotemporary authors. The famous Sarpi, the defender of the Venetian liberties, better known by the name of Fra. Paolo, and the jesuit Palavicini, his antagonist, both agree in essential matters of fact. It is true that Palavicini reckons 360 errors committed by Fra. Paolo; but what are these errors? He accuses him with having mistaken dates and names. Palavicini has been detected in as many faults as his adversary; and when he is in the right against him, it is hardly worth being in the right. Of what consequence is it, whether a trifling letter of Leo X. was written in 1516 or 1517? Whether the nuncio Archimbold, who made such a traffic of indulgences in the North, was the son of a tradesman of Milan or of Genoa? Or, indeed, what signifies it whether he did or did not sell indulgences? What matters it whether cardinal Martinusius was a monk of the order of St. Basil, or an hermit of St. Paul? But we should be glad to know whether this defender of Transilvania, against the Turks, was assassinated by the order of Ferdinand I. brother to Charles V. In fine, Sarpi and Palavicini have both told the truth, but in a different manner; one as a freeman, and the defender of a free senate; the other as a jesuit, who wanted to be a cardinal.

Charles V. proposed to pope Clement VII. to call this council as early as the year 1533; but that pontiff, who still trembled at the remembrance of the sacking of Rome, and his own captivity, and dreading, lest the story of his spurious birth should embolden the council

to depose him, eluded the emperor's request, to whom he did not dare to give an absolute denial. Francis I. of France, proposed Geneva as the place of session, at the very time that the reformed religion began to be preached in that city. It is more than probable, that if the council had been held in Geneva the reformed party would have been considerable sufferers.

During these procrastinations, the protestants of Germany demand a national council to be held; and, in their answer to the pope's legate Contarini, found their request upon these words of our Saviour, "When two or three are gathered together in my name, I will be in the midst of them." Their quotation was allowed to be just: but it was said at the same time, that if two or three persons were gathered together in the name of Christ, in an hundred thousand different places of the earth, this might produce an hundred wars and councils, which might produce as many different confessions of faith, in which case there never would have been any union, though it might be allowed at the same time, that there never would have been any civil wars.

Pope Paul III. (of the family of Farnese) proposes Vicenza; but the Venetians reply, that the Turkish Divan might take umbrage at an assembly of Christians being held in the Venetian territories. He next proposes Mantua; but the chief of that city is apprehensive of admitting a foreign garrison: at length the city of Trent is pitched upon, the pope being willing to pay a compliment to the emperor, of whose assistance he stood very much in need at that time, having hopes to obtain the investiture

ture of the Milanese for his natural son Peter Farnese, to whom he afterwards gave Parma and Placentia.

The council is at length convoked by a bull, "by the authority of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and of the apostles Peter and Paul, whose authority the pope exercises upon earth;" in which the emperor, the king of France, and the other crowned heads, are invited to be present thereat. Charles V. expresses his indignation that they should have dared to put a king upon a footing with him, and especially a king who was in alliance with infidels, after all that he had done for the service of the church. But here his imperial majesty seems to have forgotten the sacking of Rome.

Pope Paul, who wanted to bestow the investiture of Parma and Placentia on his bastard, and thought that Francis I. might be more serviceable to him in that affair than the emperor, in order to intimidate the latter, who was pressed hard both by the Turks and Protestants, threatens him with the fate of Coran, Dathan, and Abiram, in case he opposed the bestowing the investiture of Parma; adding, "The Jews have been dispersed for crucifying their master; and the Greeks have lost their empire and their liberty for having insulted his vicar."

After a great deal of caballing, the emperor and the pope are reconciled. Charles permits his bastard to reign quietly in Parma; and Paul sends three legates to open the council at Trent, which he proposes to direct from his Vatican. His legates correspond with him in cyphers,

an invention very little known in those days, and which was first made use of by the Italians.

The legates and the archbishop of Trent begin by granting three years and 360 days deliverance from purgatory to every one who shall actually be in the city at the opening of the council.

The pope issues a bull, forbidding any prelate to appear by proxy, and immediately the proxies of the archbishop of Mentz arrive, and are well received; this law not being made for the ecclesiastical princes of Germany, whom it was the pope's interest to humour.

And now Paul bestows on his son, Peter Lewis Farnese, the investiture of the duchy of Parma and Placentia, with the connivance of Charles V. and publishes a jubilee.

The council is opened by a sermon from the bishop of Bitonto, in which this prelate proves that a council was necessary, "First, because
"several councils had deposed kings and emperors. Secondly, because we read in Virgil's
"Æneid, that Jupiter assembled a council of
"the gods." He goes on with observing,
"That God called a council before he created
"man, and destroyed the Tower of Babel;
"that all the prelates of the church ought to
"repair to Trent, as the Greeks did into the
"Trojan horse. That the gate of the council
"chamber, and that of Paradise, are one and
"the same; that the spring of the fountain of
"life flows from it, with which the fathers are
"to sprinkle their hearts, as parched lands; or
"else that the Holy Ghost will open their
"mouths as it did those of Balaam and Caiaphas."

A

GENERAL HISTORY. 33

A discourse of this kind seems to contradict what we have said of the revival of learning in Italy. But this bishop of Bitonto was a Milanese monk; a native of Florence or of Rome, or a disciple of Bembo or Caza, would not have talked in this manner. It must be considered, that though good taste was established in several of the capital cities, it never spread over all the provinces.

The first thing ordered by the council, was, that the prelates should always appear in the habit of their calling. The custom at that time was for the clergy to dress like laymen, except when in the exercise of their function.

There were very few prelates then present at the council; most of the bishops of great fees brought theologians, or professors of divinity, along with them, who spoke for them. There were some also employed by the pope.

Almost all these theologians were monks of the order of St. Francis, or that of St. Dominick, and were continually disputing about original sin, notwithstanding the emperor's ambassadors objected against such disputes, which they looked upon as idle and of no utility. These monks began upon the grand question, Whether the Virgin Mother of Christ was born subject to the sin of Adam? The Dominicans, adversaries of the Franciscans, obstinately maintained, with their patron St. Thomas *, that she was conceived in original sin. The dispute was long and vehement; and the council was at length obliged to put an end to it, by determining, that the Virgin was not comprehended in the original sin common to

* See Note to page 131. vol. iv.

all mankind, but at the same time she was not altogether exempt from it.

Duprat, bishop of Clermont, after this was over, requires that his master the king of France may be prayed for by name, as well as the emperor, as he had received the same invitation as the emperor to the council; but his demand was refused, it being alledged that in this case they must also pray for the other kings by name, which might occasion some difference with those who should find themselves last named: the rank of crowned heads remained as unsettled then, as in former times.

Peter d'Anes arrives with the character of ambassador from the king of France. It was at one of the meetings of this council that he made his famous repartee to an Italian bishop, who, after having heard him speak a long time, said, when he had ended, How this cock crows! *Gallus cantat!* (the words cock and Frenchman are both expressed in the Latin tongue by *gallus*.) To this insipid pun d'Anes replied with great coolness, "Would to God Peter may repent at the crowing of this cock."

And this is a proper place for taking notice of the *bon môt* of don Bartholomew de los Martiros, primate of Portugal, who, speaking of the necessity of a reformation in the church, said, "That the most illustrious cardinals stood in need of being most illustriously reformed."

The bishops could with difficulty be brought to yield the precedency to the cardinal, whom they did not reckon as belonging to the church hierarchy; and the cardinals had not, at that time, the title of eminency, which they did not assume

assume till under the pontificate of pope Urban VIII. Here it is to be observed, that although all the fathers and theologians of the council spoke in Latin at their meetings, yet they have some difficulty to understand one another; by reason that a Pole, an Englishman, a German, a Frenchman and an Italian, have each a very different manner of pronouncing that language.

One of the most important questions discussed in this council, was that of the residence of bishops, and their institution by divine right. Almost all the prelates, excepting those of Italy, who were particularly in the pope's interest, insisted that their institution should be declared *a jure divino*; alledging, that if it was not so, they could have no reason to condemn the protestants. But how could they pretend their institution to be wholly divine, when they were obliged to receive their bulls of prelacy from the pope? If the council controverted this point, the pope would then be no more than a simple bishop like themselves. His see was indeed the first of the Latin church, but not first of all sees; and therefore must lose its authority: and this question, which seemed at first wholly theological, became, in fact, a very political and delicate point. It continued to be debated a long time with great elocution; and none of the popes under whom this long council was held, would ever suffer it to be determined.

The subjects of predestination and saving grace were also a long time under consideration, and at length decrees were drawn up; Dominic de Soto, one of the divines of this council, explained these decrees in favour of the opinions of the Dominicans, in three

large volumes in folio: but father Andrew Vega answered him in fifteen volumes of the same size; in which he explained them to the advantage of the Franciscans.

The doctrine of the seven sacraments was next examined with great attention, and passed without any disputes.

After having settled this tenet as it is now received by the whole Latin church, they proceeded to the plurality of church benefices. This was a ticklish point: several of the members spoke largely against the abuse, which had been long introduced, of suffering a number of benefices and dignities to be held by one person, and revived the old complaints which were made in the pontificate of pope Clement VII. who in the year 1534 granted his nephew cardinal Hippolito the usufruction of all the vacant benefices in the world for six months.

Pope Paul wants to reserve to himself the decision of this point; but the fathers make a decree that no one shall hold two bishoprics at the same time, but with this modification, that it may be done by virtue of a dispensation from the pope. This has never been refused to the German prelates; so that now a poor country curate shall be incapable of enjoying two livings of 100 crowns a year a piece, when a prelate shall be in possession of bishoprics to the amount of several millions. It was the interest of all the bishops, princes, and nations in the world to root out this abuse, and yet we find it authorised.

This point having somewhat ruffled the minds of the several parties, pope Paul transfers the
coun-

council from Trent to Bologna, on pretence of a contagious disorder prevailing in the former.

During the two first sessions of the council at Bologna, the pope's bastard, Peter Lewis Farnese, duke of Parma, become insupportable through his insolence, debauchery, and extortion, is murdered in Placentia, as Cosmo de Medicis has been before him in Ferrara, his brother Julian before him, duke Gallas Sforza in Milan, and several other new-made princes. There are no proofs of the emperor Charles V. being accessory to this murder ; but it is certain he enjoyed the fruits of it, for the very next day the governor of Milan seized upon Placentia in the emperor's name.

It may easily be supposed that this murder and the sudden depriving the pope of the city of Placentia, occasioned a rupture between the former and the emperor. These dispensations affected the council ; and the few bishops of the empire who remained behind in Trent, refused to acknowledge the fathers of the council of Bologna.

It was during these disputes that Charles V. triumphant over the protestant princes by the famous battle of Mulberg, in the year 1547, crowned with success upon success, and displeased with the pope, aspires at the glory of doing what this could not, namely, to bring about an union, at least for a time, between the catholics and protestants of Germany. With this view he sets the theologians to work on all sides, and publishes his *Inhalt*, *Interim*, or temporary profession of faith, till a better can be drawn up. This was not declaring himself head of the church, as Henry VIII. had done ; but it would have

have been the same thing in fact, if the Germans had been as tractable as the people of England.

This formula of the *Interim* has its foundation in the doctrine of the church of Rome, but modified and explained in terms less offensive to those of the reformed party. The laity were allowed to partake of the cup at the eucharist, and priests to marry. There was wherewithal to have pleased every one, if the spirit of party could ever be pleased; but neither the catholics nor the protestants were satisfied. Pope Paul, who might have been expected to oppose this proceeding, remained quiet. He foresaw that it would fall to the ground of itself; and even if he had been disposed to make use of the same arms against the emperor, as his predecessors Gregory VII. and Innocent IV. the example of England and the power of Charles made him humble.

Other concerns more pressing, because of a private nature, disturb the quiet of this pontiff's days. Affairs in Parma and Placentia were in an odd and ticklish situation. Charles V. as master of Lombardy, had lately annexed Placentia to that territory, and might do the same by Parma.

The pope, on his part, wants to annex Parma to the ecclesiastical state, and to give his grandson, Orazio Farnese, an equivalent. This prince is married to a natural daughter of the emperor, who has taken Placentia from him, and is grandson to the pope, who wants to deprive him of Parma. Thus persecuted at once by two such near relations, he resolves to ask assistance from France, and oppose the designs of his grand-

grandfather the pope. Thus the incontinence of the pope and the emperor excites a furious quarrel in the council of Trent, and their bastards stir up the most violent intrigues, while the monkish divines are busied in argumentation. The pope, struck with grief, dies, like almost all other sovereign princes in the midst of the troubles they themselves had raised, and which they do not live to see ended. His memory is severely censured, sometimes perhaps unjustly.

Juan del Monte is elected pope in his room, by the name of Julius III. and agrees to remove the council again to Trent; but the quarrel about Parma overturns this council. Octavio Farnese persists in refusing to give up Parma to the holy see; Charles V. is as resolute to keep Placentia, in spite of the tears and entreaties of his daughter Margaretta, Octavio's wife. Another bastard steps in between and brings the war into Italy. This was the wife of one of Octavio's brothers, a daughter of Henry II. king of France and the duchess of Valentinois, who engages her father Henry to espouse her quarrel; who now declares himself the protector of the house of Farnese, against the emperor and the pope: and this very prince, while he is burning all the protestants in France, opposes the holding of a council against the protestants.

While the most christian king is declaring against the council, some protestant princes send their ambassadors thither; namely, Maurice the new duke of Saxony, the new duke of Wirtemberg, and last of all, the elector of Brandenburg; but these ambassadors soon return back discontented. The French king also sends an ambassador there; this was James Amiot, better

ter known for his translation of Plutarch than by his embassy : he however appears at the council only to protest against its proceedings.

In the mean time the two electors of Mentz and Triers take their seats at the council below the pope's legates : the presence of two cardinal legates, two nuncio's, two ambassadors from the emperor, one from the king of the Romans, together with some Italian, Spanish, and German bishops, restore life and business in the council.

The Franciscans and the Jacobines now divide the opinions of the fathers in relation to the eucharist, as they before did touching the article of predestination. The Franciscans maintain that the body of Christ in the elements changes place, and the Jacobines insist that it does not change place, but is instantaneously formed in the consecrated bread.

The fathers come to a determination that the body of Christ is under the appearance of the bread, and his blood under that of the wine ; that the body and blood are together in each of the elements by concomitance whole and entire, and that they are instantaneously produced anew in every morsel of the bread, and in every drop of the wine, and that accordingly there is the same worship due to them as to God.

During these debates, prince Philip, son to the emperor Charles V. and afterwards king of Spain, and the hereditary prince of Savoy, pass through Trent. It is said in some of the books concerning the polite arts, that “ the fathers
“ gave a ball to the princes, which was opened
“ by the cardinal of Mantua, and that the
“ fathers danced with a great deal of becoming
“ gravity

“gravity and decency.” Cardinal Palavicini is quoted on this account, to shew that dancing was not reckoned among the profane diversions; and great stress is laid on the silence of Francis Paolo, who no where condemns this ball given by the cardinals.

It is certain that, among the Greeks and Hebrews, dancing frequently made a part of their religious ceremonies; but it is not true that Palavicini, as is said, speaks of the fathers dancing; and the claim to Fra. Paolo’s indulgence is as falsely grounded; for if he does not condemn this ball it is in reality because the fathers did not dance in it. Palavicini, in his 15th chapter of his 11th book, only says, that after a magnificent repast, given by the cardinal of Mantua, president of the council, in a large hall built on purpose, about a quarter of a mile out of the city, there were diversions, jousts, and dancings; but he does not say a word about the president of the council dancing at them.

In the midst of these diversions, and the more serious occupations of the council, Ferdinand I. king of Hungary, brother to Charles V. causes cardinal Martinusius to be murdered in Hungary. This news fills the council with trouble and indignation. The fathers refer the cognizance of this villainous affair to the pope, who cannot take cognizance of it. The times of Thomas Becket and Henry II. of England, were long since past. Julius III. excommunicates the murderers, who were Italians, and some time after declares king Ferdinand, brother to the potent prince Charles V. absolved from all censure on that occasion. So that the death of the famous Martinusius still remains among the great number of assassinations
which

which have passed unpunished, to the disgrace of human nature.

But now matters of a greater moment disturb this council. The protestant party, defeated at Mulberg, recovers strength and appears in arms. The new elector of Saxony, Maurice, lays siege to Augsburgh; the emperor is surprised in the passes of Tirol, and is obliged to save himself by flight, with his brother Ferdinand; and, by this one reverse of fortune, loses the fruit of all his victories. The Turks threaten to invade Hungary. Henry II. of France, in alliance at the same time with the Turks and Protestants, even while he is burning the latter at home as heretics, sends troops into Germany and Italy. The fathers of the council fly in all haste from the city of Trent, and the council continues forgotten for the space of ten years.

At length in 1560, pope Pius IV. (by name Medequeno,) who pretended to be a descendant from these great merchants, and greater princes, the Medicis, revives the council of Trent; to which he invites all the princes of Christendom, and even sends nuncios to the protestant princes assembled at Naumbourg in Saxony, whom he styles *Dear Sons*; but these princes refuse to acknowledge him for their father, and return his letters.

The council recommences its session by a solemn procession of 112 bishops between two files of musqueteers; the bishop of Reggio preaches a more eloquent sermon than the bishop of Bitonto, in which he raises the power of the church to the utmost possible height, by equalling it to that of God; for he says,
“ The

“ The church has abolished circumcision and
 “ the sabbath, which were instituted by God
 “ himself.” In the two years 1562 and 63,
 during which time this council held its second
 sessions, there were almost continual disputes
 between the several ambassadors about prece-
 dence. Those of Bavaria wanted to rank be-
 fore those of Venice ; but, after a long contest,
 they gave up the point.

The ambassadors of the catholic Swiss can-
 tons claim precedence of those of the duke of
 Florence, and obtain it. One of the Swiss de-
 puties, named Melcheor Laci, offers to defend
 the council with his sword : and to serve the
 enemies of the church as his countrymen served
 the curate Zuinglius and his adherents, whom
 they murdered and burnt for the good old
 cause.

But the greatest dispute was between the
 French and Spanish ambassadors. The count
 de Luna, ambassador from Philip II. of Spain,
 insists upon being incensed * when at mass, and
 to kiss the cup †, before Ferrier the French
 ambassador. Not being able to obtain this dis-
 tinction, he agrees to admit that two incense
 pots and two cups be used at the same time ;
 but Ferrier still continues inflexible. The two
 ambassadors threaten each other, the service is
 interrupted, and the church is filled with tu-

* It is a custom in the Roman catholic churches, to throw
 the pot which contains the burning frankincense, used at the
 celebration of mass, towards persons of condition, that the
 smoke may come upon them.

† Another ceremony, used in the like manner to persons
 of distinction, who have the chalice or cup with the conse-
 crated wine, presented to them to kiss, the laity not being
 permitted to partake of the wine in communicating.

mult and uproar. At length this difference is compromised, by omitting both ceremonies of incensing and kissing the cup.

New difficulties arise to retard the theological debates. The ambassadors of the emperor Ferdinand, successor to Charles V. will have this assembly to be a new council, and not a continuation of the former. The legates adopt the mean between the two parties, and say, "We continue the council by calling it, and we call it by continuing it."

The grand question concerning the residence of bishops and their institution by divine right, is renewed with more warmth than before. The Spanish bishops, strengthened by the arrival of a number of prelates from France, maintain their pretensions. It was on this occasion that some of them complained, that the holy ghost was always sent from Rome in the courier's mail; a famous witticism, of which the protestants have not failed to make the most advantage.

Pius IV. incensed at the obstinacy of the bishops, declares these barbarians to be enemies of the holy see, and that he must have recourse to a million of gold crowns. The Spanish bishops complain bitterly that their Italian brethren have betrayed the interests of the prelacy, and that they receive sixty gold crowns a month each from the pope. The greatest part of the Italian bishops were poor, and the see of Rome being richer than all the bishops of the council put together, might assist them without any breach of decency; but then those who receive favours are very apt to be of the same
opinion

opinion with the person from whom they receive them.

This same pope, Pius IV. offers Catherine de Medicis, queen regent of France, an hundred thousand gold crowns, and to lend her an hundred thousand more, and a body of Swiss and German troops of the catholic religion, if she will drive all the Hugonots out of France, confine Monluc, bishop of Valence, who is suspected of favouring them, a prisoner in the Bastile, together with the marshal de l'Hopital, who lay under the same suspicion, and who was the greatest man in France, if that title is due to one in whom genius, learning and probity were united. His holiness moreover demands the abolition of all the laws made by the French parliaments relative to the church; and in these hopes advances 25,000 crowns. The abject acceptance of this charity of 25,000 crowns shews into what an abyss of wretchedness the French government was at that time sunk.

But it was still more infamous that the cardinal of Lorraine, who at length came to the council, accompanied by some French bishops, should begin by complaining that the pope had given the king his master no greater a sum than 25,000 crowns. It was at this time that Ferrier, the French ambassador, in his speech to the council, compared Charles IX. then an infant, to the emperor Constantine: a comparison which every ambassador did not fail to apply to his own sovereign. In the first place, this comparison suited none of them. In the next, Constantine never received 25,000 crowns subsidy from any pope: and lastly, there was some little difference between an infant king of a
small

small part of Gaul, whose mother held the reins of government, and an emperor who was sovereign of both empires of the east and west.

Ferdinand's ambassadors complained with great warmth against the pope for having promised money to France, and moved that the council might make a reformation in the pope and his court; and that there should not be more than twenty-four cardinals at most, agreeable to the decree of the council of Basil, never considering that by retrenching their numbers they encreased their power. Ferdinand I. likewise demanded, that all nations might be allowed to pray in their mother tongue; that the laity might partake of the cup; and that the German princes might remain in possession of the church revenues which they had gotten into their hands.

Proposals of this kind were generally started when there was any difference with the see of Rome, and as generally dropt again when matters were accommodated.

The dispute about the cup continued a long time. Several of the divines asserted, that the cup was not necessary to communion, that the manna in the desert, which was a type of the eucharist, was eaten without drinking; that Jonathan did not drink when he eat his honey; that Christ, when he gave the bread to the apostles, gave it them as laymen, and that he made them priests by giving them the wine. This question was decided before the arrival of the cardinal of Lorrain; but afterwards it was left to the pope to grant or refuse the cup to laymen as he should judge proper

The

The subject of the divine right was again renewed, and divided the council. It was on this occasion that the jesuit Luines, who succeeded Ignatius Loyala as general of the order, and who was one of the pope's theologians at the council, said, that "no other church could reform that of Rome, inasmuch as the servant could not be above his master."

The Italian bishops joined in his opinion, and admitted of no divine right but in the pope. The French bishops, who came with the cardinal of Lorrain, joined the Spaniards against the court of Rome; which made the Italians say, that the council was fallen from the Spanish itch into the French disease, *della rognà Spagnuola nel mal Francese*.

Recourse was now had to negotiating, caballing, and bribing. The legates gained over as many of the foreign theologians as they could. There was in particular one Hugonis, a doctor of the Sorbonne, who served them as a spy, and who is positively said to have received fifty gold crowns of the bishop of Ventimiglia for betraying to him the secrets of the cardinal of Lorrain.

The French court was at that time so exhausted by her religious and political disputes, that she had not money enough to pay the theologians she had sent to the council, who therefore, all of them, return home, excepting only this Hugonis, who was in the pay of the legates. Nine French bishops had already quitted the council, so that now there remained only eight.

And now the religious disputes in France stained that kingdom with blood, in the same manner

manner as they had done Germany in the reign of Charles V. The pope, incensed at a temporary peace which had been made with the protestants, in the month of March of this year 1563, caused the cardinal de Chatillon bishop of Beauvais, an avowed Hugonot, to be condemned by the Inquisition at Rome; including in the same sentence ten other bishops of France, none of whom we find to have appealed to the council. Some of them contented themselves with appealing to the parliament. On the whole, we do not find that any one sessions of this council opposed this act of authority in the pope.

The fathers take this opportunity to draw up a decree against all those princes who wanted to exercise a civil power over ecclesiastics, and oblige them to pay subsidies. All the ambassadors, in general, opposed the decree, and it did not pass. The dispute grew warm on all sides. In the midst of the tumult, the French ambassador, Ferrier, cries out, "Let us not in this place cry out with the devils at the approach of Jesus Christ, Lord send us into the herd of swine." It is not very clear what affinity there could be between the herd of swine and this dispute.

After such a variety of altercations, which though warm in their beginnings were always quieted by the prudence of the legates, it was now moved to put an end to the council.

In the 24th session, the council declared the marriage tie to be perpetual from Adam, and that it is become a sacrament from the time of Christ; that it cannot be dissolved even by adultery, and that nothing can make it void, but
con-

consanguinity within the fourth degree, or a dispensation from the pope. The protestants, on the other hand, were of opinion, that a man may marry his cousin, and may put away his wife, if found guilty of adultery, and marry another.

In this session also, the council declares, that, in criminal cases, bishops can be tried only by the pope; and that it is in his breast alone, in cases of necessity, to commission other bishops to try them. This law, however, is admitted in very few courts of justice, especially those of France.

In the last session they pronounce an anathema against all those who reject the invocation of saints, pretending that we are to pray to God alone; that is, who do not think God like those weak and frail princes of the earth, who are not to be approached but through their courtiers or ministers.

Anathema is likewise pronounced against those who do not worship relics; that is, who think that the bones of a dead carcase have no sort of relation to the spirit which animated the living body, and that these bones have no virtue of their own. Such are also anathematized who deny the doctrine of purgatory, an antient dogma of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, which has been adopted and sanctified by the church, and thought by some to be more suitable to the justice and clemency of a God who remembers mercy in the midst of his judgments, than the belief of an eternal state of torments, which seems to make him a God of implacable vengeance.

D

In

In these anathemas no mention is made either of those of the confession of Augsbourg, nor of those of the communion of Zuinglius and Calvin, nor those of the church of England.

This same session allows monks to make vows at sixteen years of age, and nuns at twelve; a permission which is justly considered as highly prejudicial to the well-being of states, but without which the monastic orders would have very soon become extinct.

They assert the validity of indulgences, which was the first source of those quarrels which occasioned the calling of this council; but they prohibit the sale of them. Nevertheless, they continue still to be sold at Rome; but it must be confessed they are sold very cheap, and you may have them at second hand, in some of the petty Roman catholic Swiss cantons, for four sols a piece. The chief market for them is in the Spanish West Indies, where the people are richer and more ignorant than in these petty cantons.

At length they finished by recommending to the bishops never to yield precedency to the ministers of crowned heads, nor to lords.

The council is subscribed by four legates, eleven cardinals, twenty-five archbishops, one hundred and sixty-eight bishops, seven abbots, thirty-nine proxies of absent bishops, and seven generals of religious orders.

They did not make use of the form, "It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us," but "it hath seemed good to us in presence of the Holy Ghost."

The

GENERAL HISTORY. 51

The cardinal of Lorrain revived the antient acclamations of the first Greek councils, crying out, "Long live the pope, the emperor, and all kings," which was repeated by the fathers. The cardinal was greatly blamed in France for not mentioning the king, his master, by name; and from that time it plainly appeared how much the cardinal was in fear of offending Philip II. of Spain, who was the great support of the leaguers.

Thus finished this council, which (including its interruptions) had sat twenty one years. The theologians who had no voices in the deliberations, explained the several dogmas; the prelates pronounced the decrees or conclusions, and the pope's legates directed them, appeased all murmurs, softened all animosities, eluded whatever could hurt the court of Rome, and, in fine, directed and controlled all the proceedings.

D 2

Death

Death of HENRY III.

Vol. v. ch. 143, THE name of Herod, which
pag. 81. was given to Henry III.

was not from any resemblance between him and that petty prince of Palestine; but only because the common people having heard that Herod had caused all the young children in his country to be put to death, they therefore thought this a proper appellation for Henry, whom they looked upon as a tyrant; while they considered his murderer, Clement, as a saint and a martyr.



In almost every catholic country (Venice excepted) the crime committed by James Clement was looked upon as a most meritorious act. The jesuit Mariana, who passes for a wise and grave historian, expresses himself thus in his book *Of the Institution of Laws*: “James Clement raised to himself a great name; here
“murder was attoned by murder, and the king’s
“blood was shed as a sacrifice to the manes of
“the duke of Guise, who had been assassinated
“by his orders.—Thus died James Clement,
“at the age of 24, a man who will for ever be
“the glory of France.” The French carried their enthusiastic folly so far, as to cause the picture of this murderer to be placed on the altars, with these words underneath, “St. James
“Clement, pray for us.”

The true form of the sentence passed upon the dead body of this assassin, was for a long time unknown. He was prosecuted by the marquis

quis de Richelieu, grand provost of France, and father to the cardinal of that name; and the attorney-general La Guéle, who was present when the murder was committed, and who had himself introduced friar Clement to the deceased king, did not appear in the character of his office on this trial, but only as a person who came there to give evidence in common with others. It was Henry IV. who pronounced the sentence himself, by which the body of the monk was ordered to be quartered and burnt; the sentence was passed with the advice of his council, and signed *Rusé*.

Another circumstance which has not been known hitherto, is, that another Jacobine monk named *Jean le Roy*, having murdered the commandant of Coutance in Normandy, Henry IV. tried this miscreant the same day that he tried the regicide Clement; and sentenced Jean le Roy to be sowed up in a sack, and thrown into the river; which sentence was executed upon him at St. Cloud, two days after. Both the sentence and the punishment were very uncommon; but the crimes which occasioned them were still more horrible.

OF HENRY IV.

Vol. V. ch. 144, **W**HAT does Bayle mean
pag. 82. by beginning his ar-

ticle of Henry IV. with saying, "that if he had been made an eunuch
" when he was young, he might have eclipsed
" the glory of Alexander and of Cæsar." Does
he pretend by that to insinuate, that to be a
great man one must be only half a man? or
was he ignorant how many great leaders have
joined love with war? Charles XII. was the
only one of all those who have gained them-
selves fame by their arms, who absolutely re-
nounced all connections with the fair sex; and
he met with more ill fortune than success. Not
that I have any inclination, in a work of this
serious kind, to flatter the idle gallantry which
has long been the reproach of the French na-
tion. I only mean to enforce this great truth,
that nature, who gives us all our qualifications,
does almost always deny strength and courage
to those who have been deprived of the ensigns
of manhood, or, at least, who have them im-
perfectly formed. Nature is the same through-
out all the creation: it is not the ox, but the bull,
who fights. The powers both of body and
mind depend upon this source of existence. We
find only one general, Narfes, who was an eu-
nuch, and only two learned men Origen and
Photius. Henry IV. was frequently in love,
and sometimes foolishly so; but he was never
effeminate. The fair Gabriel calls him, in her
letters,

letters, "My soldier." This appellation alone is sufficient to refute Bayle.

* * *

Id. pag. 85.] The jesuit Jouvency acknowledges in his history, that Nigri, superior of the novices of that order in Paris, assembled all of them that were in France, and led them to meet the pope's army at Verdun, into which he incorporated them; and that this army marked its progress through the kingdom by the most terrible devastations. This circumstance sufficiently shews the spirit of those times.

The monks might then indeed, with some reason, say in their writings, that the pope had a right to depose kings, since he was on the point of establishing that right by the sword.

* * *

Id. pag. 89.] You will remark, that the parliament wanted to sit in the general assembly of the states by deputation or proxy, and that they could not obtain it. You will remark also that this very parliament had just before ordered an arret of the king's parliament (held at Chalons) against the pope's legate and his pretended power of presiding at the election of a king of France, to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

Much about the same time, several of the citizens having presented a petition to the city and parliament, desiring that the king might at least be pressed to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, before they proceeded to the election; the Sorbonne declare this petition "unfit, seditionous, impious, and idle, inasmuch as they

D. 4.

"well

" well know the obstinacy of Henry the apostate," at the same time excommunicating the authors of the petition, and banishing them out of the city. This decree, which was written in very bad Latin, and was certainly the production of weak and superstitious minds, is dated the first of November, 1592. It was afterwards revoked, when of very little signification whether it was or not; but had not Henry IV. enjoyed the crown, it would have continued in force, and Philip II. would have been loaded with the appellation of protector of France, and of the church.

While Henry's adversaries were employing the sword and the pen, politics and superstition against him, and during the sitting of the assembly of the states, which was as tumultuous and divided as it was irregular; Henry was at the gates of Paris, and threatened to reduce it.



Henry IV. had about his person a private envoy from queen Elizabeth, who, in a letter, he wrote to his royal mistress, concerning the king's changing his religion, has these very words:

" The following is the manner in which the king excuses himself, on account of his change of religion, and the very words in which he expressed himself to me." *

" When I came to the crown, 800 gentlemen and nine regiments left my service, on pretence that I was an heretic; the leaguers

† Taken from the third book of Beze's MSS. No. 8.

" im-

"immediately set about choosing another
 "king, and the most powerful of them offered
 "their services to the duke of Guise; where-
 "upon I determined, after mature deliberation,
 "to embrace the Romish religion, and by that
 "step I have entirely won over the third party,
 "have prevented the election of the duke of
 "Guise, and have gained the good-will of the
 "people of France. I have had the promise
 "of the duke of Florence, in regard to some
 "matters of great importance, and have finally
 "prevented the reformed religion from being
 "entirely rooted out."

* Henry sent the sieur Moreland, his am-
 bassador, to the queen of England, to inform
 her of what had passed, and to make his ex-
 cuses to her as well as he could. Moreland
 tells us, that Elizabeth made him this reply,
 "Is it possible then, that any worldly confi-
 "deration can have made the king, your master,
 "lay aside the fear of God!" When we hear the
 murderers of Mary Stuart talking of the
 fear of God, we cannot help thinking the
 character of a hypocrite, which has been
 given her by most historians, to be too true;
 but when we hear the brave and generous
 Henry declaring that he had changed his re-
 ligion, merely for the good of his country,
 which ought to be the governing principle
 with all crowned heads, we cannot doubt
 that he spoke from his heart. How then
 can the jesuit Daniel offer so glaring an in-
 sult to truth, and to the understanding of

* Idem.

his readers, as to assert, even against all probability, a cloud of witnesses, and the principles of the human mind, that Henry IV. had been long a catholic in his heart? Once more I must repeat it, that the count de Boulainvilliers was perfectly in the right, when he asserted, that no jesuit could be a faithful historian.



The ambassadors of Philip II. left Paris the very day that Henry made his entry into that city, without having the least violence offered to their persons; only the king, as he saw them passing by a window, where he was standing, called out to them, "Gentlemen, pray give my compliments to your master; but I desire never to see you here again."



Several politicians have pretended that when Henry IV. had gotten the mastery, he ought to have imitated queen Elizabeth, and have entirely separated his nation from the Romish communion. They furthermore say, that the balance of Europe inclined too much in favour of Philip II. of Spain and the catholics, and that to have kept this balance equal, he ought to have made the French protestants, as the only means of rendering them a numerous, rich, and powerful people.

But Henry IV. was not in the same situation as Elizabeth; he had not a well disciplined army at command, nor the parliament of the nation in his interests. He was moreover in want of money; he had but few troops to withstand Philip II. who was always ready to attack

attack him, and the leaguers were still powerful and in high spirits.



Id. pag. 99.] It was a thing highly worthy of admiration, that Henry IV. notwithstanding the exhausted and desolated state, in which he found the kingdom, should, in less than fifteen years, time, have been able to ease the burthen of the taille, by near four millions of the currency of his time, which would make ten of ours; to lessen the other duties one half, and to pay off an hundred millions of the crown debts, which would make two hundred millions of the present money. He redeemed lands which are now alienated to the amount of more than an hundred millions; all the strong places were fortified, the magazines and arsenals well filled, and the highways repaired; all which is to the immortal glory of the duke of Sully, and of his royal master, who had the happy boldness to make choice of a soldier to repair the disorders in the public finances; and who did not disdain to labour in concert with the minister of his choice.



Id. pag. 109, 110.] About the time that Henry IV. was murdered, there was published an apology for John Châtel, in which it is said, "that the attempt was a virtuous, heroic, and meritorious act; and worthy to be compared to the noblest deeds recorded in sacred or profane history. There is but one thing, can be found fault with, adds the apologist, which is, that Châtel did not compleat what he

“ he had begun, by sending the apostate to
“ his proper place with Judas.”

This apology clearly shews the reason why Guignard could never be brought to ask forgiveness of the king was, that he did not look upon him as king. “ The constancy of this
“ holy man,” says the author of the apology,
“ would never suffer him to acknowledge one
“ whom the church did not acknowledge; and
“ although the judges condemned his body to
“ be burnt, and his ashes scattered in the air,
“ yet will his blood never cease to cry out against
“ his murderers, before the throne of the God
“ of Hosts, who will not fail to repay their
“ wickedness seven-fold, upon their heads.”

Such was the spirit of the league and of the priests in those days; and such the terrible abuse made of religion, which was so ill understood; an abuse which has continued even to the present time.

It is not long since a jesuit, named La Croix, who was professor of divinity in Cologne, reprinted, with notes, a book of one of the ancient jesuits, called Besenbaum, which would have remained as much unknown as the author and his commentator, if they had unhappily served to revive the detestable doctrine of murder and regicide.

It is said in this work, that any person outlawed by a prince, cannot be lawfully put to death any where, but in the dominions of such prince; but that a crowned head, excommunicated by the pope, may be murdered wherever he is found, inasmuch as the pope is sovereign lord of the universe; and that any one having orders to slay an excommunicated person,

GENERAL HISTORY. 61

son, be whom he will, may delegate his charge to another, and that it is an act of charity to accept of such charge.

It is true, that the parliaments of France condemned this abominable book; and the jesuits of that kingdom probably declared their abhorrence of the doctrine it contained; but, on the other hand, a new edition of this book, which has lately appeared with additions, sufficiently shews that these infernal tenets have been long ingrafted in a number of minds; that they have been looked upon as points of our holy religion; and that consequently the laws cannot exert themselves with too much rigour against the teachers and abettors of this vile doctrine of king-killing.

* * *

Id. page 112, &c.] Every one knows that Ravallac was a novice, in an order of begging friars of St. Bernard, who were still insatuated with the fanatic spirit of the leaguers, and that this infamous miscreant was abandoned to superstition, and all manner of vice. Counsellor Matthieu, historiographer of France, who held a long conversation with him in his little Hotel de Retz, near the Louvre, tells us, that this wretch had been for several years under a strong temptation to murder the king. A counsellor of the parliament, asking him in the same hotel, and in the presence of Matthieu, how he dared to lift his hand against the most christian king? "It is first to be known, replied he, if he is most christian."

The irresistible force of destiny shews itself more plainly in this event, than in almost any other

other we read of. A country school-master, without forming a conspiracy, without having an accomplice, or being the least interested in what he did, kills Henry, in the midst of his subjects, and changes the face of affairs in Europe.

The whole of the proceedings against him, which were printed in 1611, shews that this man had in fact no other accomplices than the sermons of the preachers of those times, and the discourses of the monks. He was a great bigot, much given to mental and extempore prayer, and pretended at times to have visions from heaven. He confessed, that after leaving the Feuillants, he had frequently a desire to take the jesuits habit. He likewise confessed that his first design was only to have persuaded the king to banish the reformed religion out of France; and that once in the Christmas-holidays, seeing the king pass in his coach, thro' the same street, where he afterwards murdered him, he cried out, as loud as he was able, "Sire, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the most holy Virgin Mary, I conjure you to let me speak to you;" but that the guards pushed him away from the coach; that then he returned back to Angoulesme, his birth-place, where he kept a school, and had eighty scholars, and, that during his stay there, he frequently went to confession, and took the sacrament: and it appeared, from many proofs, that he conceived his hellish design in the midst of the most fanatic acts of devotion. His answer to the second interrogatory, in his examination, were in these words, "No one whatever, either counselled or assisted him

2

" in

“ in the perpetrating this deed ; only that hear-
 “ ing the soldiers in general, talking amongst
 “ themselves, that if the king was to make
 “ war against the pope, they would assist him,
 “ and lay down their lives for his cause; that
 “ therefore, and for that reason, he suffered
 “ himself to be led away by the strong desire
 “ he felt to kill the king, because, in his opini-
 “ on, the making war against the pope is
 “ making war upon God, inasmuch, as the
 “ pope is God and God is the pope.” Thus
 we find every thing concur, to prove to us that
 Henry IV. was in fact the victim of an horrible
 prejudice, which had, for a long time, blinded
 the understandings of mankind, and spread
 desolation over the face of the earth.



It has been confidently asserted that Henry's
 approaching death was talked of in the Low
 Countries long before the fatal blow was given.
 It is not at all astonishing that the partizans of
 the catholic league, seeing the formidable army
 he was on the point of leading into the field, might
 say that nothing but the death of Henry could
 save them. They and the rest of the leaguers
 undoubtedly wished for a second John Châtel
 to arise ; we easily pass from desire to hope,
 this hope will break forth in expressions, and
 these are wafted abroad ; something of this kind
 had reached the ears of Ravallac, and deter-
 mined him to put his bloody purpose in exe-
 cution.

It is certain likewise, that it had been told
 to Henry that he should die in his coach. This
 notion arose from the great dread this prince,
 otherwise

otherwise so intrepid, was always under of being overturned, when in any wheel-carriage. This natural weakness was looked upon by astrologers, as a foreboding, an omen; and this notion of theirs, formed at random, was verified by the most improbable of all events.

On the cardinal de RICHELIEU's obtaining a dispensation from the POPE, to pass sentence of death upon MARILLAC.

Vol. v. chap. cxlvi. **T**HUS does a priest
 pag. 170.] spill the blood of a
 fellow-subject by the sword
 of justice, which sword he receives in France,
 from the hand of another priest, who lives at
 the further extremity of Italy.

Administration of Cardinal de RICHELIEU,

On the Marriage of GASTON, brother of
 LEWIS XIII. with MARGARET of Lor-
 raine.

Id. page **T**HE king insisted that his brother's
 182.] marriage with Margaret of Lor-
 raine should be annulled. Gaston had
 only a daughter by his first wife, the heiress of
 Montpensier. Now if the heir presumptive of the
 crown persisted in his second marriage, and a
 son should be born of it, the king wanted to
 have this son declared a bastard, and incapable
 of inheriting the crown.

This was an absolute violation of all religion,
 laws, and customs; but as religion can only
 bs.

GENERAL HISTORY. 65

be instituted for the good of a state, it is certain, that when its customs are hurtful or dangerous, they ought to be abolished.

On the Creation of Twenty-four new Counsellors of Parliament.

Id. page 190. **I**T is a matter, not very worthy of attention, that there should be only twenty persons found to purchase these judges seats; but what will shew us the spirit of mankind, and especially of Frenchmen, is, that the new created members were a long time despised and hated by the whole body; that, in the war of the league, they were obliged to pay 15000 livres each, to obtain the good graces of their brethen, by contributions to a war against the government; that (as we shall see hereafter) this got them the nick-name of the *Quinze-vingt*, or the twenty-fifteens. Lastly, that when an attempt was lately made to lay aside these useless members, the parliament, who cried out against their being first introduced, as mere supernumeraries, exclaimed as loudly against their being suppressed. Thus are the same things well or ill received, according to the spirit of the times, and the remedy is frequently as much complained of as the disease.

On

On the Jesuit CAUSSIN, the KING'S
Confessor.

Id. page 191. **T**HIS same jesuit advised Lewis XIII. to put the kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary, in order to sanctify the king's amours with mademoiselle de la Fayette, which was looked upon only as an union of minds in which the senses had very little share. The good father's advice was followed, and cardinal Richelieu put this project in practice the following year, while Caussin celebrated, in wretched doggrel, at Quimpercorentin, the particular regard the Virgin had for the kingdom of France. The house of Austria happened to have the Virgin for its patroness likewise; so that our holy lady must have been extremely put to it which of them to have served, had it not been that the Swedes and the duke of Weimar were protestants.

* * *

Ibid.] Observe, that you will never meet with any great troubles in history, nor any intrigues of council, without the confessors of kings having an hand in them, which often ends in their own disgrace. For instance, a prince has the weakness to consult his confessor on state-affairs, (and by the bye this is one of the greatest inconveniences attending auricular confession.) The confessor, who is almost always of some one party, endeavours to make his royal penitent consider the views of this party

party as the will of God. The minister soon comes to the knowledge of these artifices: upon which the confessor is disgraced, and another is taken in his place, who practises the very same.

At the end of the Chapter of the Administration of Cardinal RICHELIEU.

Id. page 200. **W**HEN it came to be perceived how full the pretended testament of cardinal Richelieu was of errors in chronology and topography, false computations, and the most absurd and ignorant assertions, such as for instance, that France had a greater number of ports in the Mediterranean than Spain; and chiefly, that in all this spurious work there was not the least mention made of the manner in which it was proper to carry on the war in which the French monarchy was then engaged; this famous production became as much despised as it was before admired.

Of

Of SPAIN, under PHILIP IV.

Vol. V. ch. 147. SPAIN has suffered so great
page 204. a depopulation, that Don

Ustaris, a famous statesman, who wrote in the year 1723, for the good of his country, reckons the number of inhabitants at that time, not to amount to more than seven millions, or about a third of what are in France; and while he laments the great decrease of useful subjects in that state, he at the same time complains, that the number of monks in the kingdom had almost always continued the same. He also confesses, that the revenues of the masters of the mines of Mexico and Peru, did not amount to eighty millions of livres of the present money *.

* About three millions and a half sterling.

At the End of the CHAPTER relating to
PHILIP IV.

Id. p. 211. **A**FTER the death of Philip IV. which happened in the year 1666, Spain was very unfortunate. Mary of Austria, widow to be deceased king, and sister to the emperor Leopold, was regent during the minority of Don Carlos, or Charles, the second of that name, his son. Her regency was not so distracted, as that of Anne of Austria in France; but they had this melancholy conformity with each other, that the queen of Spain drew upon her the hatred of the whole nation, by giving the administration into the hands of a foreign priest, as the queen of France made all her people her enemies, by subjecting them to the yoke of an Italian cardinal; the principal grandees oppose the ministers in both states, and the interior government was equally ill conducted in one and the other.

The prime minister, who governed the Spanish nation for some time, during the minority of Charles II. was the jesuit Evrard Nitard, a German, confessor to the queen, and grand inquisitor of the kingdom. The incompatibility which religion seems to have placed between the monastic vow, and ministerial intrigues, soon raised a general murmur against this jesuit.

The character of Nitard did not a little add to the public indignation against him. Though he was very capable of ruling over the mind
of

of his penitent, he was by no means fit to hold the reins of government in a state, having nothing of the minister or the priest, but pride and ambition, even without the necessary covering of dissimulation. He one day had the insolence to say to the duke of Lerma, "It is you who owe respect to me, who have every day your god in my hands, and your queen at my feet." With this pride, so opposite to true greatness, he suffered the treasury to be left bare of money, all the strong places in the kingdom to fall to ruin, the ports to be left without shipping, and the forces without discipline, and without any leaders capable of commanding them; this negligence of his, more especially, contributed to the first advantages which Lewis XIV. gained over his brother-in-law and mother-in-law, when he attacked them in 1667, and took from them one half of Flanders, and all the Franche-Comté.

A party was formed against the jesuit-minister, as in France against cardinal Mazarin; and Nitard found in Don John of Austria, natural son of Philip IV. as implacable an enemy as the Great Condé was to the cardinal. Condé was imprisoned, Don John was banished. These disputes gave rise to two factions that divided the Spanish nation, but without a civil war, which, however, was just on the point of breaking out, when the queen prevented it by banishing farther Nitard (though much against her will) as queen Anne of Austria was obliged to turn off Mazarin. But this latter returned more powerful than ever; whereas farther Nitard, whose dismissal happened in 1667, could never again get footing in Spain. The reason

son was, that the queen regent had taken another confessor in his room, who opposed the return of his predecessor; whereas the queen of France had no minister near her to supply the place of Mazarin.

Nitard went to Rome, where he in vain solicited a cardinal's hat, which is seldom bestowed on disgraced ministers, and was obliged to live a retired life, very little countenanced by his brethen, who indeed are seldom fond of a person who has raised himself above their level. But at length, by his own assiduity, and the good offices of the queen of Spain, he obtained this hat, which is so much the darling object of all churchmen; and now his brother jesuits were by the ears who should first pay their court to him.

The reign of Charles II. of Spain was as weak as that of Philip III. and IV. as you will see in the age of Lewis XIV.

Of the Misfortunes of CHARLES I. and of
the IRISH MASSACRE.

Vol. V. ch. 150. **T**HIS massacre has not the
page 152. same degree of celebrity

in the history of great crimes
as that of St. Bartholomew, though it was as
general, and accompanied with all the horrors
and barbarities that could distinguish such a
fally of enthusiastic fury. But this conspiracy
of one half of a nation against the other, on
account of religion, passed in an island at that
time little known by other nations, and had not
the authority of such illustrious accomplices as
a queen regent, a king of France, and a duke
of Guise; the victims of this brutal zeal,
though equal in number, were not of such con-
sideration as those in France; and although
the scene was to the full as bloody, yet the
theatre of action did not fix the attention of
Europe. The whole world still rings with the
horrors of St. Bartholomew's day, while the
Irish massacre is in a manner forgot.

If we were to reckon the murders which
have been committed by enthusiasm, since the
days of St. Athanasius and of Arius, to the
present time, we should find that those disputes
have contributed more to the depopulation of
the earth, than all the battles that have been
fought: for, in these, the male species only is
destroyed, which is always more numerous
than the female: but in the massacres perpe-
trated for religion's sake, both sexes are indif-
criminately made the victims.

Reflections on the Declaration of CHARLES I.
concerning Religion.

Id. pag. 158. **T**HUS are princes in religious matters more under subjection to their people, than the people to them. When once, what we call dogma, or an opinion, has got root in a nation, the sovereign must declare that he is ready to die in the defence of that opinion. It is much easier to make such a speech than to persuade a headstrong populace.

* * *

Of the numberless dissensions which have at different Times threatened the subversion of the English government, before it acquired the happy and settled form in which we now see it, the troubles of those times preceding the death of Charles I. were the only ones, in which excess of folly and excess of madness were joined together, and that ridiculous superstition with which the reformed sect had reproached those of the Romish communion, might now be retorted upon the puritans. The bishops behaved like mean-spirited cowards; they ought to have died in defence of a cause which they thought just: but the behaviour of the presbyterians was that of madmen; their dress, their way of discouraging, their low allusions to passages of Scripture, their ridiculous gestures, their sermons, their pretended prophecies; in short, the whole of their manners might in peaceable times have served to divert the mob at a fair, had they not been rather too disgusting. But,

E

unhappily,

unhappily, these fanatics joined fury to absurdity; and those whom children now a-days would laugh to scorn, by wading through rivers of blood made themselves respected and dreaded; and were at once the most ridiculous and the most formidable of men.

OF OLIVER CROMWELL.

Vol. V. ch. 151. **T**HE marquis of Montrose was sentenced to be hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high, to be afterwards quartered, and his members fixed upon the gates of the four principal towns in Scotland, for having offended against the *New Law, or Covenant*, as it was called. This brave nobleman, upon hearing his sentence pronounced to him by the judge, made answer, that he was sorry he had not quarters enough to be sent to the gates of every town in Europe, as monuments of his fidelity to his prince. He even put this sentiment into tolerable verse as he was going to the place of execution. He was a person of the most agreeable wit, and the most learning, as well as the bravest man of any in the three kingdoms. The presbyterian clergy accompanied him to his execution, reviling and insulting him, and pronouncing his damnation.

* * *

Id. p. 285.] Cromwell placed confidence only in the independents, who could not subsist but thro' him, and he would laugh at them sometimes with the deists, though he did not look upon deism with a favourable eye, as being a religion

go in void of enthusiasm, and consequently fit only for philosophers, and can never be of service to conquerors.

There were but a few of this philosophic sect in the kingdom, and with these he would sometimes divert himself at the expence of the holy madmen, who had cleared the way for him to the throne with the Bible in their hands. By this conduct he preserved, to his last hour, an authority which had been cemented with blood, and supported by force and artifice.

OF ENGLAND, under CHARLES II.

Vol. VI. ch. 152. **D**EISM, which this king seemed openly to profess,

became the reigning religion among the many others then in the kingdom, and has since made a surprising progress in other parts of the world. The earl of Shaftesbury, son to the minister, and one of the chief supporters of this sect, says positively in his *Characteristics*, that the noble appellation of Deist cannot be too highly revered. A number of eminent writers have made open profession of deism; and the major part of the Socinians have ranged themselves under its standard. This sect, now become very numerous, is accused of admitting only the light of reason, and rejecting all revelation. It is not possible for a Christian to stand up as their advocate; but the strict impartiality with which we are desirous to draw this great picture of human life, obliges us, while we condemn their doctrine, to do justice to their behaviour. We

Cannot therefore but acknowlege, that this is the only sect of all others that has not disturbed the peace of society by its disputes ; and, though erroneous, has been always clear of fanaticism. It is indeed impossible that such a sect should be other than peaceable, since its followers are united with all mankind in the principle common to all ages and all countries ; namely, the worship of one only God ; and differ from other men only in having neither forms nor places of worship ; in believing only in one just God, allowing for the diversity of opinions in others, and seldom discovering their own. They say that their pure religion, which is as old as the world, was for a long time the only true one, before God himself gave another to the Hebrew nation. They found this notion from its having been always the religion of the Chinese literati ; but these literati had a public form of worship, whereas the European deists have only a private one, every person worshipping God in his own house, and assisting without scruple at all public ceremonies : at least there has hitherto been but a very inconsiderable number of those called *Unitarians*, who have formed an assembly ; and these may be called primitive Christians rather than deists.

* * *

Id. pag. 8, 9, &c.] Notwithstanding the great change in minds and affairs in England, the love of liberty and faction did not change among the people, nor that passion for absolute power which prevailed in the king and his brother the duke of York ; so that in the midst of the pleasures and festivities of a court, confusion,

sion, division, and animosities, between sects and parties, overspread the kingdom. There were not indeed any violent civil wars, as in the time of Cromwell; but numberless intrigues, plots, and murders, committed under the solemn mask of justice, and in virtue of laws, which hatred, or party misapprehension, construed according to their own purpose, threw a cloud over a great part of the reign of Charles II. This prince indeed seemed, by the amiable mildness of his character, formed to render his people as happy as he made every one who had the honour of approaching him; and yet the blood of the subject flowed under the hand of the executioner during this good prince's reign, as well as under those of others. Religion was the sole cause of these disasters, notwithstanding that Charles himself was perfectly indifferent on that head.

Charles had no children, and his brother, who was heir presumptive to the crown, had lately turned papist, a name which is held in execration by the parliament and kingdom of England in general. As soon as it was positively known that the duke had changed his religion, the fear of having one day a papist for their king, made a change in almost all minds. Some wretches among the dregs of the people, hired by the faction that opposed the court, pretended to discover a plot much more extraordinary than that known by the name of gunpowder treason. They declared and swore to it, that the papists had formed a design to murder the king, and place the crown upon his brother's head; that pope Clement X. in a congregation called *de Propagandâ*, held in 1675,

had declared, that the kingdom of England belonged to the popes, by an imprescriptible right; that, in virtue of this right, he had appointed Oliva, general of the jesuits order, his lieutenant there; and that this jesuit had made over his authority to the duke of York, the pope's vassal; that an army was to be raised in England to drive Charles II. from the throne; that Father La Chaise, a jesuit, and confessor to Lewis XIV. had remitted a thousand louis d'ors to London, to set the operations on foot; that Conyers, another jesuit, had bought a poniard, which cost him twenty shillings, with which he was to stab the king; and that a certain physician had been offered ten thousand pounds to poison him. At the same time they produced a list of the names and commissions of all the officers who had been nominated by the general of the jesuits to command the army to be raised in defence of popery.

Never was accusation more absurd. The rabbit-woman or the bottle-conjurer in England, or with us the affair of the Bull Unigenitus, the convulsionists, and the charges brought against philosophers and men of learning, were not more ridiculous. But when once the minds of men come to be heated, the more preposterous an opinion is, the more it is credited.

The whole nation took the alarm. The parliament, in spite of all the endeavours of the court, proceeded in the most severe manner. There was some mixture of truth in these incredible falsehoods, and that was sufficient to sanctify the whole. The informers pretended that the general Oliva had appointed one Coleman, a dependent on the duke of York, his secretary

secretary of state in England. This Coleman's papers were seized, and some letters were found among them written by him to father La Chaife, in which were the following expressions: "We
 " have a great undertaking in hand, no less
 " than the conversion of three kingdoms, and
 " perhaps the total extirpation of heresy; we
 " have a prince zealous in our cause, &c. . . .
 " You must send a large sum of money to the
 " king, money is the only prevailing logic at
 " our court."

It is plain by these letters that the Catholic party wanted to get the upper hand, that they had great dependence on the duke of York, and that the king himself was inclinable to favour the Catholics, provided they would supply him handsomely with money; and, lastly, that the jesuits were doing all in their power to serve the pope in England. All the rest was manifestly false; and the informers contradicted themselves so grossly in their depositions, that at any other time they would have been laughed at by every one.

But Coleman's letters, and the murder of a justice of peace †, which happened about that time, made any thing be believed of the papists. Several persons who were accused, lost their lives on the scaffold, and five jesuits were hanged and quartered. Had these men been condemned as disturbers of the public peace, or for holding illicit correspondence, and endeavouring to subvert the religion by law established, their sentence would have been perfectly just; but certainly they ought not to have

† Sir Edmondbury Godfrey.

been put to death as captains or chaplains of a popish army, which was to have conquered the three kingdoms. The zeal against popery, however, was carried so far, that the house of commons almost unanimously passed the bill of exclusion against the duke of York, by which he was declared for ever incapable of succeeding to the crown of England. This unhappy prince, a few years afterwards, did but too well confirm this sentence of the house of commons.

England, all the northern kingdoms, one half of Germany, the seven United Provinces, and one fourth of the Swiss cantons, had hitherto contented themselves with considering the Roman Catholic religion as idolatrous. But this obloquy had not passed into a law in any of these states. Now, however, the English parliament tacked the oath of abjuration to that of the test, and obliged the people to swear to their abhorrence of popery as an idolatrous religion.

What changes have happened in the human mind! The first Christians accused the Roman senate with paying divine honours to statues, which they certainly did not. The Christian religion continued three hundred years without images; twelve Christian emperors treated those as idolators who prayed before the pictures or figures of saints. This mode of worship is afterwards received both by the eastern and western churches, and after that held in abhorrence by one half of Europe. At length, Christian Rome, that places its chief glory in the destruction of idolatry, is ranked with the heathens, by the laws of a powerful and discerning

GENERAL HISTORY. 81

discerning people, who are deservedly held in high esteem by all other nations.

The enthusiasm of the common people did not stop at these demonstrations of horror and aversion to popery; accusations and punishments were still continued.

But the most deplorable circumstance was the execution of lord Stafford, a venerable nobleman, of tried fidelity to his king and country, who had retired from public business, and was closing the career of an honourable life, by the exercise of every domestic virtue. This good man passed for a papist, though he was not such. He was accused by one of the state-informers, of having hired him to murder the king; and though it was proved that he had never spoken to the person who was his accuser yet the wretch was believed. The innocence of lord Stafford availed him nought in the day of trial; he was condemned to lose his head; and by the same shameful and wicked weakness, which had cost his father his crown and his life, Charles did not dare to pardon him. This example proves that the tyranny of public bodies is always more heavy than that of a king. There are a thousand ways to pacify the resentment of a sovereign; there are none to bend the inflexible cruelty of the public, when carried away by prejudice. Each member is filled with the fury that animates the whole, imparts it with redoubled force to his companions, and gives himself up without fear to the most pitiless inhumanity, conscious that an individual is not answerable for the actions of a community.

E 5,

While

While the papists and the church of England party were exhibiting these bloody spectacles in London, the presbyterians in Scotland presented a scene no less absurd, and infinitely more abominable. They murdered the archbishop of St. Andrew's, primate of that kingdom, where the episcopal government still continued, because this prelate had stood up in defence of his prerogatives. After this noble action, the presbyterians assembled the people, and in their sermons openly compared their shocking deed with those of Jael, Ehud, and Judith, recorded in holy writ, and to which indeed it bore a pretty near resemblance. From the church they led their infatuated auditors with the sound of drums and bagpipes to Glasgow, of which they made themselves masters. After this they took an oath that they would no longer acknowledge the king as supreme head of the church, nor his brother as king after his death; and that they would shew obedience to no one but the *Lord*, to whom they would sacrifice all the bishops who opposed the workings of the saints.

The king was now obliged to send his natural son, the duke of Monmouth, with a small army against these saints. The presbyterians marched to meet him with eight thousand men headed by ministers of the gospel. This army styled itself *the army of the Lord*. An old minister got upon a little hillock, and caused his hands to be supported, as we read of Aaron, in order to insure victory to those of his party; notwithstanding which, the army of the Lord was routed at the very first onset, and twelve hundred

hundred of the saints taken prisoners, all of whom the duke treated with the greatest humanity ; he hanged only two of the most active of their priests, and set at liberty every one who would take an oath not to make any more disturbances in the country, in God's name. Nine hundred accepted their liberty on these conditions, the remaining three hundred declared that it was better to obey God than man, and that they had rather suffer death themselves, than not be allowed to kill all church of England men and papists. Upon this they were transported to America ; and the ship that was carrying them over being cast away, they all received the crown of martyrdom at the bottom of the sea.

This spirit of folly continued some time longer in England, Scotland, and Ireland ; but at length the king found means to restore the public tranquillity, not so much by his prudence perhaps, as by the amiableness of his disposition, and that pleasing affability which won him the hearts of all who approached him, and insensibly softened the gloomy ferocity of discontented factions, and harmonized the minds of jarring parties.

OF ITALY in the Sixteenth CENTURY.

Vol. VI. ch. 153, **P**OPE Pius IV. sent a body
page 13. of forces into France, to

assist Charles IX. against the
Hugonots. These troops were at the battle of
Moncontour. To so low an ebb was the French
government at that time fallen, that 2000 of
the pope's soldiers were looked upon as a very
useful succour.

OF SWEDEN and POLAND.

Vol. VI. ch. 158, **H**ERE is another strange
pag. 62, &c. vicissitude and contrast
in the affairs of the North.

Sweden, which was so despotically governed of
late, became the most free kingdom in the
world, and that in which the king is most de-
pendent on his people: while, on the contrary,
Denmark, where the king had formerly no
more authority than a doge, and where the so-
vereign power was vested in the nobles, and the
common people were all slaves, has, since the
year 1661, been the most absolute monarchy
upon the earth. The clergy and the burghers
chose rather to submit to an absolute sovereign
than to an hundred nobles, every one of whom
was for having the chief command; and accord-
ingly they obliged the nobles to become sub-
jects as well as themselves, and to invest their
king Frederick III. with an unlimited authority*.

* For an account of this revolution, see note to pag. 62, Vol. VI.

GENERAL HISTORY. 85

And he was the only monarch in the universe who, by the formal consent of all the orders of the kingdom, was acknowledged as absolute master of the people and the laws, “which he might either make, annual, or neglect, according to his own will.” This formidable power was committed into his hand in a juridical manner, and happily his successors have not abused it. They have been sensible that their true greatness consisted in the happiness of their subjects. Sweden and Denmark have cultivated trade by methods diametrically opposite to each other; the former by making themselves free, the latter by giving up their liberties.

Of SABATEI SEVI, the false Messiah.

Vol. VI. ch. 160. **I**T is a standing tradition among the Jews, that the Shiloh or Messiah, their avenger and king, is not to appear till the coming of Elias; and they are persuaded that they have had one Elias, who is to appear again at the renewing of the world. This Elias has, by some learned persons, been taken for the sun; on account of the conformity between this name and *Elias*, which in Greek signifies the sun; as also from the story of Elias or Elijah being carried up to heaven in a fiery chariot, drawn by four horses, which has a great resemblance of the poetical fiction of the chariot of the sun and his four horses. But without employing our time in such researches, or examining whether the Hebrew books were written after the time of Alexander, when the Jewish factors residing in Alexandria

Alexandria had learned something of the Grecian mythology ; it is sufficient to remark, that the Jews have been in expectation of the coming of Elias from time immemorial ; and to this very day, when these deluded people perform the ceremony of circumcision on a new-born infant, they always place a chair for Elias, in case he should please to honour them with his presence. Elias, according to them, is to introduce the great sabbath, the great Messiah, and the general revolution of all things. This notion has been received among Christians. The Elias is to come to declare the dissolution of this world, and a new order of things. Almost all the different sects of fanatics expect an Elias. The prophets of the Cevennes, who came to London in the year 1707, to raise the dead, pretended to have seen Elias, and to have spoken to him ; and that he was to shew himself to the people. In 1724, the magistrate of the police sent two Elias's to prison, who fought with each other who should be accounted the true one. It was therefore absolutely necessary for Sabatei Sevi to set out with declaring himself to be the Messiah, otherwise his pretended mission would have been treated as a imposture.

He met with one Nathan, a Jewish rabbin, who thought there was something to be gained by playing a part in this farce. Accordingly Sabatei declared to the Jews of Asia Minor and Syria, that this Nathan was Elias, and Nathan on his part insisted that Sabatei was the Messiah, the Shiloh, expected by the chosen people.

Siege of VIENNA by the TURKS.

Vol. VI. ch. 161, **I**T has been the custom of
 pag. 110 all the princes, from Con-
 stantinople to the further li-
 mits of Asia, always to keep a treasure by them
 as a resource in times of war or other necessity.
 They are unacquainted with the method of rais-
 ing money upon extraordinary supplies, or by the
 creation or sale of offices, government securities,
 or annuities. The circulation of specie and public
 credit are things unknown amongst them, and
 these potentates content themselves with amass-
 ing all the gold, silver, or jewels, they possibly
 can. This had been the custom in the East ever
 since the time of Cyrus: and Cara Mustapha,
 the Turkish vizir, thought it was the same with
 the emperors of Germany.

OF CHINA.

Vol. VI. ch. 164, **T**HE emperor Yont-chin,
 at the end. successor to Cam-hi, when
 he drove the European mis-
 sionaries out of his empire, spoke to them in the
 following manner; which they have had the
 honesty to relate in their *Letters curious and edi-
 fying*.

“What would you say if I was to send a
 “number of bonzes and lamas into your coun-
 “try? How would you receive them? If you
 “have found means to impose upon my father,
 “do not think I will suffer you to deceive me
 “in

“ in the same manner. You would have my
“ Chinese embrace your religion ; now I very
“ well know that you will not permit of any
“ worship different from your own : what then
“ must become of me and my people ? The
“ subjects of your princes and the disciples
“ whom you make, acknowledge no other au-
“ thority than yours. In times of trouble and
“ distraction they are wholly guided by your
“ voices. I am sensible that at present we
“ have nothing to fear ; but when your vessels
“ shall find the way hither by thousands, times
“ of trouble and distraction may ensue.”

The very jesuits who give us an account of this speech, acknowlege with ever other writer, that this emperor was one of the wisest and most generous princes that ever filled a throne. His whole study was to relieve the necessities of the poor, by setting them to work ; to enforce the observance of the laws, by setting the example himself ; to check the ambition and intrigues of the bonzes ; to maintain peace and plenty throughout his empire ; and to cultivate and encourage all the useful arts, especially agriculture. During his reign the public edifices, the high roads, and the canals, which form a communication between all the principal rivers of the empire, were supported with a magnificence and oeconomy of which there has been no example, but among the ancient Romans.

RECAPITULATION

OF THE

FOREGOING HISTORY.

HAVING gone through the immense scene of revolutions that have happened in the world, since the time of Charlemagne, and even some ages before, till that of Lewis XIV. let us now enquire what will be the fruits of our labour, and what advantage we may hope to derive from history? We have taken a view of actions and manners, let us next consider what benefit we may reap from the knowledge of them.



A sensible reader will easily perceive, that he is to credit such great events only as carry with them an air of probability; and that he ought to look with pity and contempt on all those fabulous relations with which fanaticism and the spirit of fiction and credulity have, in every age, loaded the history of the world.

Constantine triumphs over the emperor Maxentius; but most certainly the labarum, with its Greek inscription, never appeared to him in the clouds.

Clovis, yet reeking with the blood of those whom he had caused to be assassinated, turns
Christian,

Christian, and commits new murders; but no pigeon brought him an ampulla for his baptism, nor did an angel descend from heaven to present him with a standard.

A monk of Clairvaux might preach a crusade; but a man must be more than an idiot to write or believe that God worked miracles by the hand of this monk, in behalf of this crusade, which at the same time proved so unsuccessful.

Lewis VII. of France might die of a consumption; but no one, except an ignorant fanatic, could say, that he might have been cured by the embraces of a young maiden, had he not chosen to die a martyr to his chastity.

History is in every nation disfigured by fiction, till the time that philosophy appeared to enlighten mankind; and when she rose upon this worse than Egyptian darkness, she found the minds of men so blinded by many ages of error, that she could with difficulty undeceive them; she found ceremonies, facts, and monuments, established to consecrate falsehoods.

How for instance could any philosopher have been able to persuade the common people of Rome, assembled in the temple of Jupiter Stator, that this Jupiter never came down from heaven to stop the flight of the Roman legions? Or, how could he have attempted to deny, in the temple of Castor and Pollux, that these twin brothers had been seen fighting at the head of their armies? Would they not instantly have produced to him the stone on which the print of the feet of those gods were still to be seen? Would not the priests of Jupiter and of Pollux have

have said to him, "Incredulous wretch, you cannot but confess in beholding a rostral column, that we have gained a naval victory, of which that column is a monument: acknowledge therefore, that the gods came down to earth to fight in our behalf; and no longer blaspheme those miracles in presence of the monuments that bear witness to them." Such has, in all ages, been the arguments of imposture and credulity.

A crazy princess builds a chapel to the honour of eleven thousand virgins. The priest of this chapel firmly believes that these eleven thousand virgins never had existence; and yet he stirs up the populace to stone the philosopher who disputes it.

Monuments are to be taken as proofs of facts only when those facts, probable in themselves, are transmitted to us by cotemporary writers of wisdom and understanding.

The chronicles of the reign of Philip Augustus, and the abbey of la Victoire, are proofs of the battle of Bovines. But when you see the famous groupe of Laocoon at Rome, are you from that, to believe the fable of the Trojan horse? Or in viewing the hideous statues of a St. Denis, on the road to Paris, will those monuments of ignorance and credulity convince you, that St. Denis walked above a league with his head under his arm after it was cut off?

Most of those monuments that have been erected any length of time after the action they commemorate, are at best but proofs of an error consecrated by time: nay, we may sometimes even doubt the truth of medals that have
been

been struck even at the time of an event; for we have seen the English, deceived by a false piece of news, strike a medal, with these words on the exergue, *Carthagena taken by Admiral Vernon*; and almost the next post brought them an account of that admiral's having raised the siege. If a nation so fruitful in wise and learned men could thus run the hazard of imposing upon posterity, what are we to think of nations and times buried in the deepest ignorance?

We may safely credit those events attested by public registers, by the consent of cotemporary authors living in a capital, procuring lights from each other, and writing under the inspection of the principal persons of a nation. But for all those petty, dubious, and romantic facts related by obscure writers, in the corner of some ignorant and uncivilized province, and those idle tales, filled with the most absurd and improbable circumstances, and with pretended miracles that are the disgrace of history instead of being its ornament, let us rank them with the works of Voragine †, father Caussin, Maimbourg, and others of their stamp.



It is easy to observe the great change of manners almost throughout the world, from the first irruptions of the Barbarians to the present time. The arts, which soften the manners by improving them, began a little to revive in the 12th century; but this dawn, being overcast by a

† The author of the *Golden Legend*.

cloud of the most absurd and infamous superstitions, threw every thing back into its pristine darkness ; and these superstitions, having spread among the ignorant and brutal people of Europe, formed every where a mixture of barbarism and folly.

The Arabians civilized and improved Asia, Africa, and a part of Spain, till they were subdued by the Turks, and finally driven out by the Spaniards. Then ignorance took possession of these beautiful regions, and the manners of mankind became gloomy, fierce, and barbarous throughout one half of our hemisphere.

The popes were, for several centuries, elected only by force of arms ; and the people, and even their sovereigns, were so weak, that an anti-pope of their own making, was, from the instant of his creation, revered by them as the vicar of God, and infallible. If this infallible personage happened to be deposed, he lost his holiness with his dignity, and his successor inherited the tribute of their adoration. And these earthly deities, who were in their turns either murderers or murdered, poisoners or poisoned ; who enriched their bastards with the spoils of states, while they condemned fornication ; who fulminated their anathemas against tournaments, while they themselves were carrying on wars with excommunicated and deposed kings, and made the deluded people purchase the remission of their sins, were at once the scandal, the abhorrence, and the gods of the greatest part of Christendom.

You have seen how in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the monks and bishops raised them-

themselves to the sovereign power and dignity, and were every where the heads of the feudal government. Here they established the most ridiculous customs, as gross as their own manners; such as the exclusive right of entering the church with a falcon on their hand; the right of employing husbandmen to beat their ponds, that a baron, a monk, or a bishop might not be disturbed by the croaking of the frogs; the right of passing the first night with the new-married wives of their vassals, and the right of levying fines upon all traders being aliens; for at that time there were no traders in their own country.

You have also seen these fallies of ignorance and folly blended with the more bloody and fatal ones of religious wars.



Several princes, in endeavouring to release the vassals from the tyranny of their lords, attempted to bring the lords under the same kind of servitude; this was the occasion of so many civil wars.

Were we to credit several writers, who adapt every thing to their own ideas, we should be led to imagine, that republican states were more virtuous and happy than the monarchical; but without reckoning the bloody wars that were so long carried on between the Genoese and the Venetians, about the right of trading with the Mahometan nations, what troubles did not the republics of Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Pisa experience? and how often did the three latter change masters? If Venice preserved her liberty

she is indebted for that happiness wholly to her impassable marshes called the Lagunes.

It may be asked, how in the midst of so many tumults, intestine wars, conspiracies, crimes, and follies, there should have been so many persons who cultivated the useful and liberal arts in Italy, and afterwards in the other states of Christendom? The answer is, that we have never been under the Turkish yoke.

There must certainly have been something in the manners and genius of the people of this part of Europe, which is not to be found either in Thrace, where the Turks have fixed the seat of their empire, nor in Tartary from whence they originally came. There are three things that constantly influence the minds of men, climate, government, and religion. This is the only possible method of explaining this ænigma in worldly affairs.

* * *

The author of *The Spirit of Laws* * says, that there are no republican states in Asia; whereas an hundred different hords of Tartars, and tribes of Arabian freebooters, form so many different wandering republics. Besides, there were formerly in Asia several very flourishing republics, even superior to those of Greece; witness Tyre and Sidon: but we have seen none such since their decline. The great empires of that part of the world have also been swallowed up, as this same author thinks is manifest from the prodigious plains found there at present. He pretends that a mountainous country is the most proper asylum of liberty; but certainly

* Montesquieu.

Asia is to the full as mountainous as Europe. Poland, which is a republic, is a champaign country. Venice and Holland cannot be said to abound in mountains. Swisserland, which is a free country, is indeed situated in a part of the Alps; but its neighbours that inhabit the other part, have ever been in a state of slavery. It is certainly a refinement in reasoning to enquire into the physical causes of governments; but then we should not seek for causes that never had existence.



Altho' it has in former times been a custom with almost all nations, to sacrifice human victims; yet this custom is far from having been frequent. This effect of barbarous ignorance, abolished in the old world, still continued to subsist in the new. But this detestable ceremony is not to be considered in the light of a religious precept, that influenced society; for though the Mexicans sacrificed their prisoners before the altars of their gods, and the Romans strangled theirs, after having dragged them in triumph, at their chariot wheels, to the Capitol, this was no more than one of the consequences of war, which prevailed equally with both nations, and which, when joined to a religious motive, became one of the most dreadful scourges of humanity. All I contend for, is that there never was an instance of any religious society or rite being instituted with a view to encourage men to the commission of vice. Religion has, indeed, been made a cloak for wickedness in all parts of the world; but it is every where instituted to promote virtue and goodness; and though superstition may have intro-

introduced fanaticism and wars, morality teaches universal peace and concord.

* * *

From this picture of Europe, from the reign of Charlemagne to the present time, you will easily judge, that this part of the world is, without comparison, better peopled, more civilized, more wealthy, and more enlightened than it was in his days ; and that it is even superior to what any other part of the Roman empire was, Italy excepted.

It is a notion worthy only of the facetious author of the Persian Tales, or of the new-fangled paradoxes which we meet with in other writers no less frivolous, though delivered with an air of more gravity, to pretend that Europe is less populous than in the time of the antient Romans.

If we consider the number of superb cities from Peterburgh to Madrid, that have been built in places that were deserts six centuries ago ; or the immense tracts of woods which covered the earth, from the borders of the Danube to the Baltic sea, and even to the heart of France, it will clearly appear, that such an extent of land could not have been cleared, without a great number of hands. And let others say what they will, agriculture and commerce have been infinitely more encouraged since the time of the Romans, than they were either then or before.

One reason, which has in general contributed to keeping up the population of Europe is, that in the numberless wars, which its several provinces have experienced, the conquered people

F

have

have never been carried away out of their own country by the victors.

Charlemagne did indeed depopulate the banks of the Weser ; but this small spot was soon recruited again with inhabitants. The Turks carried away several Hungarian and Dalmatian families, out of their own country, and accordingly we find those countries, at present, but thinly peopled. Poland is also badly inhabited, but that is owing to the common people being still held in a state of slavery.

In what a flourishing condition then, would Europe have been at this time, had it not been for the continual wars, by which it has been rent on the slightest prettexts, and very often through mere whim and caprice ? To what a degree of perfection would agriculture have attained, and how much more comfort and assistance would those arts, which prepare the produce of the earth for our use, have afforded us, had not such an astonishing number of persons, of both sexes, been doomed to pass their lives in useless retirement within the walls of a cloister ! An improvement in humanity, which has been introduced amidst the scourge of war, and thus softened its horrors, has at the same time not a little contributed to save the common people from that destruction with which they were almost continually threatened. The great number of military forces, which are continually maintained by all crowned heads, is doubtless a very great evil in society ; but, at the same time, as I have before observed, this very evil is productive of a good. The common people now leave the trade of war to their masters, without intermeddling therewith themselves ; the inhabitants

GENERAL HISTORY. F 99

tants of a besieged town pass frequently from the service of one power to that of another, without a single life being lost on the occasion; and quietly become the property of him who has the strongest army, the best artillery, and the most money.

Germany, France, and England, were for a long time laid waste by civil wars; but these disasters were soon repaired, and the present flourishing state of these countries shews, that the industry of mankind has even far exceeded their rage and fury. It is not the same with Persia, for that country has, for upwards of forty years, been a prey to the most shocking devastations; but if happily she should be gathered together, under the rule of a wise and good prince, she may recover herself in far less time than has been taken in ruining her.

When a nation has an acquaintance with the arts, and its inhabitants are not absolutely enslaved, or carried away by a foreign conqueror, that nation will easily rise from her ruins, and recover her former strength.



INTRODUCTION

TO THE

AGE OF LEWIS XIV.

In speaking of the four AGES or CENTURIES,
of which the last is that of LEWIS XIV.

Vol. VI. **W**E must not suppose that these
pag. 160. four enlightened ages were
exempt from misfortunes or crimes.

Though the arts may be cultivated in their
greatest perfection by the peaceable citizens,
this does not hinder princes from being ambi-
tious, the common people from being seditious,
nor the priests and monks from being sometimes
incendiaries and impostors. All ages resemble
each other in having given birth to bad men; but
I know only of these four that are distinguished
by the shining geniuses they produced.

ROME.

R O M E.

On the BISHOPS stiling themselves such by the divine permission, and that of the holy see.

Vol. VI. ch. 166. SEVERAL of the French pag. 181. bishops, in the year 1682, laid aside this form, which was altogether unknown to the first ages of Christianity; and very lately, namely in 1754, a bishop had the noble resolution to omit it entirely in a mandate which was to be handed down to posterity; and is the only one that expressly asserts what no supreme pontiff ever yet ventured to declare; namely, that all men, even infidels, are our brethren.

The pope has retained, in every Roman catholic state, certain prerogatives, which he undoubtedly would not obtain, had not time put him in possession of them.

ADDITIONS TO

CIVIL WARS.

The End of the SECOND.

Vol. VI. ch. 168, 169. **I**T is highly probable
pag. 205—231. that cardinal Maza-
rine had long been ap-
pointed prime minister in the mind of the queen,
and even during the life of Lewis XIII.

THIRD CIVIL WAR.

IT was found necessary to levy taxes, in order
to maintain the war with Spain and the em-
peror. The finances in France had, ever since
the death of the great Henry IV. been as badly
managed as in Spain and Germany. The ad-
ministration was a perfect chaos, and ignorance
and rapine lorded it over the land : the latter of
these was not, indeed, so extensive, nor had
it such considerable objects as at present. The
government was not the eighth part so much in
debt as it now is ; it had not armies of 200,000
men to keep in pay ; it had not immense sub-
sidies to answer, nor a war by sea to support.
The revenues of the government amounted in
the first years of the regency, to near seventy-
five millions of livres of those days. This was
sufficient to have answered all calls, if there had
been any œconomy in the ministry ; but in 1646
and the following year, they were in want of
new supplies. The superintendant of the
finances

finances * at that time was Emeric †, a peasant of Sienna, who had a soul more mean than his birth, and who, by his insolence and licentiousness, irritated the whole nation against him. This man invented schemes for raising money, equally ridiculous and burthensome. He created places of comptrollers of fire-wood, sworn sellers of hay, wine-carriers of the king's council, and made a public sale of letters of nobility. The annuities on the town-house of Paris did not then amount to more than eleven millions; the annuitants were obliged to give up several quarters; additional duties were laid on all imports, and several new places of masters of requests created; and besides all this, about 80,000 crowns were kept back out of the salaries of the magistrates.

It may easily be imagined that the minds of the people were greatly irritated against two Italians, who had come into France without any fortune, had enriched themselves at the expence of the nation, and who by their conduct had rendered themselves so justly obnoxious. The parliament of Paris, the masters of the requests, all the other courts, and the annuitants, joined together to oppose them. Mazarine took away the post of super-intendant from his confident Emeric, and banished him to one of his estates at a distance from Paris; but this sacrifice came too late; every one loudly complained that such a man should have any estates in France, and Mazarine himself was universally detested, tho', at that very time, he had put the finishing hand

* The same as chancellor of the exchequer in England.

† His real name was Michael Perticelli.

to the peace of Munster. For we must observe, that this famous treaty, and the barricades, happened in the same year 1648.

The civil wars in Paris began, like those in London, about a trifling sum of money †.

Of the DUKE of BEAUFORT.

THE duchess of Nemours, in her Memoirs, tells us, that the prince of Condé presented a little crook-backed dwarf, armed cap-a-pée to the queen, saying, “Behold the generalissimo of the Parisian forces.” These words were designed as a reflection upon his brother the prince of Conti, who was deformed, and whom the Parisians had chosen to head them. Nevertheless, Condé himself was afterwards general of the same troops; and madame de Nemours adds, that she has often heard him declare, that this whole war deserved to be written only in doggrel verse.

† M. de Voltaire, in this place, alludes to the affair of the ship-money in England, which was the first beginning of the troubles and unfortunate end of Charles I.

CONDITION of FRANCE under the Administration of Cardinal MAZARINE.

On the DEATH of CROMWELL.

Vol. VI. ch. 170. **I** Do not know whether it pag. 245 & note. is true, that Cromwell played the enthusiast and prophet on his death-bed, by telling his physicians that he was certain that God would work a miracle in his favour. His secretary Thurlo tells us, that his words were, "Nature can do more than the physicians." This was not talking like an enthusiast, but like a man of understanding. It might so happen, that, from a conviction of the possibility of the physicians being mistaken in their judgment, he had a mind, in case he should recover, to give the people a higher opinion of his sanctity, and thereby render his person more respected, and even sacred.

MAGNIFICENCE of LEWIS XIV.

On the BULL of DIVORCE granted by the Pope to the Queen of Portugal, on the supposed impotence of her husband.

Vol. VII. ch. 174. **T**HAT which pope pag. 11. Clement VII. refused to the powerful king of England, Henry VIII. Urban VIII. granted
F 5 to

to the wife of a king of Portugal. The most trifling intrigue will frequently bring about that at one time, which the most powerful exertions cannot obtain at another. There were always two weights and two measures for the privileges of all kings and their subjects: these two measures have been kept in the Vatican ever since the popes came to have influence in Europe. It would be impossible to conceive how so many nations should, for such a length of time, have left their authority in the hands of the Roman pontiff, were we not well apprized of the great force of custom.

END of the CHAPTER, which concludes with
the DEATH of CONDE.

Vol. VII. ch. 175. IT is a current story, but
pag. 60. such as merits our contempt,

that Montecuculli resigned the command of the army after the death of Turenne; alledging, that he had no longer any rival worthy to contend with. This would have been a very foolish assertion, even if the great Conde had not been living. But, so far from expressing himself in this ridiculous manner, which has been as ridiculously imputed to him as an honour, he actually fought against the French, and compelled them to re-pass the Rhine, that very same year. Besides, what general who had the command of an army, would say to his master, "I will serve you no longer because you enemies are too weak,"

“ weak, and I have too great a superiority of
 “ merit.”

Of COLBERT and FOUQUET.

Vol. VIII. ch. 197. **I**T was the league and
 pag. 90—97. the war of Paris that
 first set a price upon
 places in the courts of judicature; and as it was
 one of the greatest faults and misfortunes of a
 government, for a long time overwhelmed with
 debt, that France should be the only nation in
 the world where the office of a judge is venal;
 so, on the other hand, it is the consequence of
 the old leaven of sedition, and a kind of insult
 upon the crown, that the place of king's attor-
 ney should cost more than the first dignities of
 the state.



We should never be the dupes of those preme-
 ditated answers or public speeches, which the
 heart frequently disavows. Colbert was out-
 wardly a man of moderation: but it is incon-
 testible, that he laboured with the most cruel
 assiduity to take Fouquet's life. The same per-
 son may be a good minister, and one of a vin-
 dictive spirit. It is to be regretted that he was
 not as generous as he was vigilant.

But the most implacable of his (Fouquet's)
 persecutors, was the person appointed for his
 judge, Michael le Tellier the chancellor; who
 F. 6. behaved

behaved to him with the greatest cruelty, when he went to examine him in the Bastille, and who did all in his power to get him capitally condemned. Therefore, when we read the funeral oration of this chancellor, spoken by Bossuet, and compare it with his conduct, what can we think, except that a funeral oration is no other than a common harangue?

On St. EVREMONT.

Id. pag. 98. **W**HEN Lewis XIV. sent him leave to return back to his own country, at the latter end of his life, the philosopher scorned to accept this permission as a favour, and by his example shewed that every man's country is that in which he can live the happiest: his was England.

LEWIS XIV. GOVERNMENT.

Vol. VIII. chap. 201. **D**ON Ustaris, a statesman, who has written on the trade and revenue of Spain, calls Lewis XIV. *a prodigy of a man.*

LEWIS

LEWIS XIV. FINANCES.

Vol. VIII. chap. I T is a known anecdote, that ccii. to the end. I the king having proposed to place Pelletier at the head of the exchequer, after the death of Colbert, Le Tellier told his majesty, "that he was not a proper person for that office." "And why so?" demanded the king. "Because, Sir, answered Le Tellier, "his disposition is not harsh enough." "But do you know," replied the king, "that I want not to have my people treated harshly." This new minister was indeed a good and just man; but when in 1688, France was again involved in a war, and had to defend itself against the effort of the league of Augsbourg; that is to say, against the joint forces of almost all Europe: he found himself loaded with a burthen that would have proved too heavy, even for the shoulders of Colbert. In this exigence, the easy and unhappy expedient of borrowing upon annuities was the first he had recourse to. He afterwards attempted to lay a restriction upon luxury, which, in a kingdom abounding in manufactures, is putting a check to industry, and the circulation of money; and this is never to be done, but in a nation which pays foreigners for the articles of luxury.



At this time also we meet with one of those unpardonable faults, in an administration, which have been corrected but of late years; I mean the debasing the current coin, and by an unequal

unequal valuation, making the crowns of less intrinsic value than the quarts; by which means all the latter were bought up, and carried into foreign countries, where they were melted down again, and cast into crowns, and afterwards returned back to France, to the great loss of that kingdom, and the gain of others. A country must be very strong in itself, to stand the force of such repeated shocks, and yet preserve its credit: but the ministry were at that time ignorant. The finances were then like the metaphysicks, a mere conjectural science; and the contractors were a set of impudent impostors, who cheated the ministry. The government sustained a loss of eighty millions, by this management; a loss which requires above twenty years to repair.



They were continually obliged to have recourse to extraordinaries, as they are called. They created ridiculous posts, which are always eagerly purchased, by those who are desirous to be exempted from the taille, a tax which carries with it a mark of debasement in France; and as men are by nature inclined to be vain, they are almost always the dupes of any scheme that excuse them from this; moreover, the considerable salaries annexed to these places, are another allurements to those who become purchasers in times of necessity, who do not reflect that these places will be suppressed as soon as matters are upon a better footing. Thus, in 1707, the ministry invented the dignity of king's counsellors, brokers, and dealers in wine, which brought in 180,000 livres. They likewise

GENERAL HISTORY. III

wife created the imaginary offices of king's registers, and subdelegates to the intendants of provinces; king's counsellors, comptrollers of fire-wood, counsellors of the police, barber-peruke-makers, comptroller-visitants of fresh-butter, and tasters of salt-butter. These extravagancies make people smile now-a-days, but drew tears from all eyes in those times.

Of CALVINISM.

Vol. ix. chap. ccvii. pag. 72. **I**N the war of 1701, rebellion and fanaticism broke out in Languedoc, and the neighbouring parts.

This rebellion was excited by the spirit of prophecy. Predictions have at all times been the means made use of to mislead simple people, and inflame the minds of bigots. If one only, out of an hundred events foretold by a darling impostor, comes to pass, through mere hazard, the rest that fail are buried in oblivion; and this is looked upon as a certain testimony of the favour of heaven, and the proof of a prodigy. If a prediction does not come to pass literally, it is explained away; it has a new sense given to it, which fanatics adopt and fools believe.

Jurieu, a Calvinist minister, was a most violent prophet. He began by setting himself above one Cotterus, a certain Christina, a Justus Velsius, and a Drabitus, whom he pretended to be persons inspired by God. He then put himself almost upon an level with the author of the revelations, and St. Paul. His followers caused a medal to be struck in Holland, with this inscription

scription on the exergue, *Jurius Propheta*. He foretold the deliverance of the people for above eight years. He established his schools for prophecy in the mountains of Dauphiny, and of the Vivarais, and Cevennes; countries perfectly well adapted to such purposes: where the inhabitants are ignorant by nature, and have their imaginations heated by the warmth of the climate, and the enthusiastic discourses of their preachers.

The first of these schools was set up in a glass-house, on a mountain in Dauphiny, called *Peira*.



Id. pag. 74.] Brousson had laid a plan for introducing the English and Savoyard forces into Languedoc. This plan, written with his own hand, and addressed to the duke of Schomberg, had been intercepted for a considerable time, and was in the custody of the intendant of the province. Brousson, as he was wandering from town to town, was seized at length at Oleron, and carried to the citadel of Montpellier, where he was kept close confined. He was examined, while in prison, by the intendant and judge of the province, to whom he declared that he was an apostle of Jesus Christ, and had received the gift of the Holy Ghost; that therefore he dared not to betray the faith committed to his charge, but was in duty bound to distribute the bread of the word to all his brethren. They asked, if the apostles had wrote plans to stir up a province to rebellion? and, thereupon produced to him a paper written with his own hand. After this, he was unanimously condemned to be broke upon the wheel.

He

He died after the manner of the first martyrs. All those of his own sect, and even all foreigners, far from considering him as a criminal of state, saw in him only a saint, who had sealed the faith with his blood; and books were published with the title of the martyrdom of Mr. de Brousson.

Of JANSENISM, at the end of the Chapter.

Vol. IX. chap. ccviii. p. 119. **R**ELIGION may yet sharpen the poniards of fanaticism.

There is always in a nation a certain set of people, who hold no commerce with persons of honour and reputation, who are not of this age, nor are to be affected by the progress of reason in the human mind, and in whose souls fanaticism still exercises its baleful influence, like certain distempers, which are found only among the lowest of the people.

Of QUIETISM.

Vol. IX. chap. ccix. pag. 120. **L**A Combe, madame Guion's director, carried her with him to his little birth-place of

Anneci, in Savoy. Even this was a very indecent step in a clergyman, to carry a young and handsome woman away out of her own country; but it has almost always been the custom of those, who are desirous to establish a sect, to carry women with them.

On the Canonization of MARY D'AGREDA.

Id. pag. 126. **I**T is difficult to say, which side acted with the greatest absurdity and folly; but it was certainly highly ridiculous to give that kind of weight to such extravagancies, which they continue to preserve in some measure to this day.

On the charge of HERESY against FENELON.

Id. pag. 127. **T**HIS enthusiastic behaviour of Bossuet, was, by the numerous friends of Fenelon, thought to be far from sincere. The courtiers pretended that it was a mere court-trick. It was, in the main, hardly to be supposed, that a man of the bishop of Meaux's party, should really consider as a *fatal heresy* the pious chimera of loving God for his own sake only. It appears more probable, that, actuated by an aversion to this mystic devotion, and still more by his private hatred of Fenelon, and confounding the one with the other, he was induced to prefer this charge against his old friend and fellow-collegian; imagining, perhaps, that the character of an informer, which stamps infamy upon a man of the world, did honour to an ecclesiastic; and that a zeal for religion warrants the most ungenerous proceedings.

End

End of the Chapter of QUIETISM.

Id. pag. 132. **T**HESE disputes, which so long engrossed the attention of France, like many others begot by idleness and ignorance, are now wholly buried in oblivion; and we at present wonder how they could ever have produced so great animosities. The spirit of true philosophy, which is every day gaining ground, seems to insure the public tranquility; and even those enthusiasts, who still oppose philosophers, are indebted to them for the peace which they at present enjoy, and which they labour to deprive themselves of.

End of the Chapter relating to the CHINESE Ceremonies.

Vol. IX. chap. ccix. pag. 142. **T**HE emperor Camhi died in 1724. This prince was a great lover of all the European arts. Some jesuits had been sent to his court, who, by their consummate knowledge and the eminent services they did him, gained his affection, and obtained from him, as we have already observed, permission to exercise and teach the Christian religion publicly, throughout his dominions.

His fourth son Yontching, whom he had nominated to the empire, to the exclusion of the elder brothers, succeeded him peaceably, without his brothers murmuring, or shewing the

the least signs of discontent. Filial piety and obedience, which is the fundamental law of that empire, makes it a crime and disgrace, in persons of whatsoever condition, to complain of the last will, or determination, of a parent.

The new emperor even exceeded his father in a regard for the laws and welfare of his people. No prince ever gave greater encouragement to agriculture. He carried his attention to this first of all the necessary arts, so far as to bestow the rank of a mandarin of the eight border, on such husbandman in each of the provinces of the empire, who, in the opinions of the magistrates of his canton, should be deemed the most diligent, industrious, and honest man in his vocation; but this rank did not take such husbandman from the exercise of his profession, though it called him to a seat in the courts of judicature; he was still to remain what he was before his elevation to this new dignity, only he bore the title of mandarin, which gave him a right to sit in the presence of the viceroy of the province, and to eat at his table. His name was registered in letters of gold, in one of the public halls. It is said that this regulation, so very different from our customs, and which is in fact a kind of satyr upon them, still subsists.

This prince likewise ordered, that no person should be put to death in all his extensive empire, till the proceedings against him had been laid before the emperor, not once only, but three times successively. The two principal motives for this edict, are as respectable as the edict itself, as they shew the great value
that

that ought to be set upon the life of every man, and the tenderneſs which a king owes his people.

He cauſed immense magazines of rice to be formed in each province, with an œconomy that did not burthen the people, and which effectually provided againſt the accident of a dearth in any future time. All the provinces vied with each other in giving teſtimonies of joy and gratitude, by public ſhows and triumphal arches, which were every where erected to the name of this father of his country. However, Yontching, publiſhed an edict, ordering a ſtop to be put to theſe exhibitions, which were hurtful to the œconomy he had recommended; and poſitively forbid the erecting any more monuments to his honour, expreſſing himſelf thus, in the reſcript he ſent to the Mandarins. "I did not beſtow favours, ſaid he, from the "vain motive of applauſe: I would have my "people happy and better; and that they "ſhould diſcharge the ſeveral duties of their "ſtation; theſe are the only monuments I "deſire, or will accept."

Such was the character of this emperor; and unhappily this was the prince who proſcribed the chriſtian religion. The jeſuits had at that time ſeveral churches, in which they openly performed their worſhip; and even ſome princes of the imperial blood had actually received baptiſm at their hands. Some fatal innovation was apprehended in the ſtate: it was no ſecret, that, at that very time, chriſtianity had excited furious diſorders in Japan, and this made an impreſſion on all minds, that the ſanctity of the religion itſelf, for want
of

of being properly known, could not counterbalance. It was also well known, that at that very time, the disputes between the christian missionaries of the different orders then at Tonquin, had occasioned the total extirpation of their religion in that province; and as these very disputes were carried to a still greater height in China, almost all the tribunals were exasperated against a set of people, who appeared divided amongst themselves, in relation to the most essential points of the religion they came to preach to others. In short, information was received, that at Canton there were English, Dutch, Swedish, and Danish settlers, who, tho' all calling themselves christians, were yet of a different religion from the christians of Macao.

These various considerations determined the supreme tribunal of rites, to forbid the further exercise of the christian religion. This edict was published the 10th of January, 1724, but without any reflection upon, or punishment decreed against the missionaries, or even the least offensive reproach; nay, the words of the edict invited the emperor to retain such of them about his person at Peking, as he should judge necessary for the furtherance of mathematical knowledge. The emperor confirmed this edict, and issued an order at the same time, that the missionaries should be sent back to Macao, under the care of a mandarin, who was to protect them from all insults, by the way; these are the express words of the emperor's ordinance.

He kept some few of them about him, and among the rest the jesuit Parennin, whose character I have already given, and who was equally famous for his great erudition,
and

and the wise and prudent manner in which he conducted himself. This man spoke the Chinese and Tartarian languages perfectly well, and was indeed a very necessary person, not only as an interpreter, but as a mathematician also. He is the best known to us of any of the missionaries of that time, by the wise and instructive answers he has given to the learned objections started by one of our best philosophers, in relation to the sciences of the Chinese. This priest was in high favour with the emperor Camhi, and held in no less degree of esteem by his son and successor Yontching. If any one could have warded off this blow upon christianity, it would have been him. He, with two other jesuits, his brethren in the mission, obtained an audience of the emperor's brother, who was appointed to examine the edict, and make a report to the emperor. Parennin, with great candour, relates the answer this prince gave to them, who was their patron and protector: "Your affairs, says he, give me a great deal of trouble and uneasiness: I have read the accusations brought against you: your continual quarrels with the other Europeans, in relation to the rites and ceremonies of the Chinese worship, have done you irreparable prejudice. What would you say; or how would you act, if we were to come over to Europe, and behave as you have done here? Answer me ingenuously; would you suffer it?" They had no answer to make to this. Nevertheless, they prevailed on the prince to speak to the emperor in their favour; and being afterwards admitted to speak to the emperor in person, he declared that he

was

was resolved to send away every one who called himself a missionary.

We have already related these words of the emperor, " You have deceived my father, " think not to deceive me likewise."

Notwithstanding the prudent orders issued by the emperor, some jesuits were indiscreet enough to return again clandestinely into some of the provinces, in the reign of the successor of this Yontchin, who condemned them to die as open violators of the laws of the empire, as we in France put to death such Huguenot preachers, who, in disobedience to the order of the king, come to gather congregations, or assemble the people of a province or country. This itch of making proselytes is a malady endemial to our climates, as I have already remarked, and has been always unknown to those of Upper Asia. These people never sent missionaries into Europe; we are the only people in the world who are desirous of carrying our religion, like our trade, to all parts of the globe.

The jesuits were even the cause of the deaths of several of the Chinese, in particular of two princes of the blood, who were suspected of favouring them too much. What a misfortune! to come from the extremity of the earth to sow discord in an Imperial family, and be the cause of two princes falling by the hands of executioners! These men, to render their mission respectable in Europe, pretended that God declared in their favour, by causing four crosses to appear in the sky over China, and have given us the figure of these crosses, in a copper-plate, in their *curious and edifying letters*; but if God had been willing that the Chinese should have
become

GENERAL HISTORY. 121

become Christians, would he have been contented with hanging these crosses in the air? Would he not rather have fixed them in the hearts of the people?

WRITERS in the Age of LEWIS XIV.

After the Article BAYLE.

Vol. IX. ch. 214. **S**OME persons attempted a Continuation of his Dictionary, but could not come up to the original. They falsely imagined that nothing more was required than compilation; but they found that the genius and dialectic knowledge of Bayle was necessary to whoever should attempt to work after him.

After the Article LA BRUIERE.

Id. p. 198.] What he says at the end of his book against the atheists is greatly admired; but when he pretends to meddle with divinity, he is even below the divines themselves.

After the Article DESMARETS, &c.

DESTOUCHE (*Nericaut*) after having written several comedies, was for a long time *chargé d'affaires* from the court of France to London, and having discharged this office with reputation, he returned to his former avocation of writing plays. His pieces have not the same energy and sprightliness as those of Regnard; nor do
G they

they furnish us with such lively pictures of the human heart : they have not that true natural humour, that excellent comic colouring which makes the distinguishing merit of the inimitable Moliere ; and yet he has preserved the next place to himself, after these two authors. There are some pieces of his which have met with great success, though the humour in them appears rather too much forced. He has been at least happy enough to avoid that whining kind of comedy, or rather low tragedy, which is indeed neither tragedy nor comedy, but a monstrous production, which took place after the age of Lewis XIV. and was owing partly to a want of capacity in the writers, and partly to a disordered taste in the public after those golden days of literature. The comedy *le Glorieux*, or the *Boaster*, is one of his best performances, and bids fair to keep possession of the stage, though some will have it, that the character of the *Glorieux* is not well filled : however, the other characters are undoubtedly admirably finished.

FONTENELLE.

Id. pag. 223. HE suffered a kind of literary persecution for having maintained, that in many respects the moderns were equal to the antients. Racine and Boileau, though, in some measure, interested that Fontenelle should be in the right, affected to despise him ; and for a considerable time kept the doors of the academy shut against him. They wrote several epigrams upon

upon him, and he upon them, and they were for a considerable time at open enmity.



Id. pag. 224.] His history of Oracles, which is a very moderate and decent abridgment of the great history of Vandalis, drew upon him more violent enemies than either Racine or Boileau. Two compilers of the lives of the saints, Pabebroke and Bolandus, Flemish jesuits, and a third named Baltus, who were compilers in the literal sense of the word, wrote after their manner against the reasonable opinions of Vandalis and Fontenelle. The Parisian philosopher was not at the pains to answer them; but the learned Basnage, a Dutch philosopher, took upon him to refute their absurdities, and the compilers were no longer read. Several years afterwards, the jesuit Le Tellier, confessor to Lewis XIV. and the unhappy author of all those disputes which have produced so much evil and contempt in France, represented Fontenelle to his royal penitent as an atheist. Mark René de Paulini, marquis of Argenfon, at that time lieutenant of the police, and afterwards keeper of the seals, warded off the persecution, which was on the point of falling heavy on Fontenelle, as that philosopher acknowledges with gratitude, in his panegyric on Mr. d'Argenson, pronounced by him in the academy of sciences.

Article of GEDOUIN.

Id. pag. 228. **H**E entered into the society of the jesuits when fifteen years old, and left it when he came to a riper age. He was so passionate an admirer of the good authors of antiquity, that he was willing to forgive them their religion in favour of the beauties of their writings, and their mythology. He discovered in their fables an admirable system of natural philosophy, and the most striking emblems of all the operations of the deity. He was of opinion that the understandings of mankind in general have been greatly confined since their time, and that the more exalted spirit of poetry and eloquence disappeared with the Greek mythology. According to him the famous *Paradise Lost* of Milton is a barbarous, enthusiastic, gloomy, and unpleasing poem, in which the devil is perpetually opposing and inveighing against the Saviour of mankind. He wrote four very curious dissertations on this subject, which the learned are in hopes to see ere long in print.

Article of Count HAMILTON.

Id. pag. 232. **H**IS memoirs of the count de Grammont are models of sprightly conversation, rather than that of a book. The chief character of the hero of his piece, seems to be that of one who cheats his friends at play, is himself cheated by his own servant,

servant, and breaks a few jests upon other people's conduct and affairs.

Article of HELVETIUS.

Id. pag. 233. **T**HIS man was father of a true philosopher, who gave up the place of farmer general of the king's revenues, to follow the study of the belles lettres, and who shared the fate of most philosophers, that of being persecuted for their writings and their virtues.

At the End of the Article of LA MOTTE
HOUDART.

Id. pag. 267. **I**T is possible, after all, that *Saurin* might have been the author of the stanzas imputed to *Rousseau*; and though this latter was proved to have written the five first, which were equally severe, yet *Saurin* might have added the two last, in order to ruin him, though there was no rivalry between these two writers; and though *Saurin* had been for a long time busied in algebraic calculations, and was himself most cruelly handled in these two stanzas; and though all the injured parties unanimously charged *Rousseau* with them, and that *Saurin* was acquitted by a solemn decree: all this, I say, is within the bounds of possibility; but most certainly it exceeds all probability. *Rousseau* indeed accused him with it to the end of his life, and even continued the charge in his last will; but pro-

essor Rollin, to whom Rousseau shewed his will at the time that he came privately to Paris, obliged him to scratch out this accusation ; and Rousseau contented himself with protesting his own innocence, even on his death-bed, but never dared to accuse La Motte, either during the course of the law-suit, during the remainder of his own life, or in his last moments ; but confined himself to writing verses against him, (See the article *Joseph Saurin*).

After the Article N I C O L E.

Id. p. 270. **N**IVELLE DE LA CHAUSSE'E. He has written some comedies in a new and affecting manner, which have had success. It is certain however that he wanted the true comic genius so essential to this kind of production. There are many persons of taste who cannot suffer comedies in which there are not strokes of pleasantry and humour ; but there is nevertheless no small degree of merit in knowing how to touch the heart, to treat morality in a pleasing manner, and to write verse with elegance and purity ; and herein our author particularly excels. He was born during the reign of Lewis XIV. and died in the year 1750.

At the End of the Article ROUSSEAU.

Id. pag. 283. **T**H E R E is neither richness, beauty, sentiment, nor invention in Rousseau's writings; he was very happy at turning an injurious epigram, or a loose stanza. His epistles are written with a pen of steel dipped in the most offensive gall. He stiles the daughters of Mr. Louvancourt, who were three truly amiable sisters, *a leash of hungry she-wolves*; and Rouillé, a counsellor of state, *a snarling venomous boorish mountebank*, after having lavished a heap of fulsome praises on him in a very indifferent ode. The expressions of *Booby*, *Puppy*, and *Scoundrel*, in these epistles, are such as would disgrace any writings. It is doubtless the mark of a noble mind to oppose our enemies with becoming courage; but such low abuse, without even the merit of pleasantry, rather bespeaks a base and ignoble soul.

For the stanzas which occasioned him to be banished, see the articles La Motte and Saurin, in the 9th Vol. of this work.

I shall here content myself with observing, that Rousseau, by acknowledging himself the author of four of these unlucky stanzas, incurred the guilt of having written all the others, both in the opinion of his judges, and that of every man of honour and understanding. His behaviour after his sentence was far from being a proof in his favour, and I have in my hands letters from the Sieur Medine, of Brussels, dated May 7, 1737, wherein that gentleman

thus expresses himself, "Rousseau had no other
 " table than mine, no other asylum but my
 " house; he took me in his arms an hun-
 " dred times, with all possible expressions of
 " gratitude, the very day that he persuaded my
 " creditors to arrest me."

Add to this a pilgrimage which Rousseau
 made to our lady of Hall, and then let any one
 judge whether he is a person to be credited on
 his own bare word, in relation to the stanzas
 in question.

At the End of the Article DE LA RUE.

Ibid. **H**E has left several tragedies and co-
 medies of his writing. The tragedy
 of Sylla was offered to the players, and refused
 by them. He is thought to have wrote a great
 part of the *Andrienne*. He was very intimately
 connected with the famous player Baron, of
 whom he learnt to declaim. There were two
 sermons of his, the one called *the Dying Sinner*,
 and the other *the Dead Sinner*, which were so
 much admired that they were wont to be ad-
 vertised every time he was to preach them.

After the Article JAMES SAURIN.

Id. pag. 293. SAURIN (*Joseph*) was born in the neighbourhood of Orange, in the year 1659. He was a member of the academy of sciences, and a person of an universal genius : we have nothing of his, except some extracts from the *Journal des Sçavans*, some mathematical memoirs, and the noted *Factum* against Rousseau. This piece, so unhappily famous, made him enemies for the rest of his life, and subjected him to the most infamous accusations. Rousseau, during his retreat in Switzerland, having come to the knowledge that his adversary had been a pastor of the reformed church at Bercher in the Bailiwick of Iverdun, used every possible means to procure witnesses against him. You must know that Joseph Saurin, having taken a distaste to the ministerial function, and being addicted to philosophy and the mathematics, he preferred his native country France, the city of Paris, and the academy of sciences, to living in the village of Bercher. In order to compass his design, he returned again into the bosom of the Romish church, and made his recantation in the year 1690. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, thought he had converted a pastor, whereas he was only an instrument of the private views of a philosopher. Saurin made a journey to Switzerland several years afterwards, in order to gather in some monies due to his wife, whom he had persuaded to embrace the Catholic religion at the same time with himself. The magistrates of

the place ordered him to be seized as an apostate priest, who had made his wife an apostate as well as himself. This happened in the year 1712, after Rousseau's fatal affair, and Rousseau himself was at Soleure just at that time. It was then that the most disgraceful accusations appeared against Saurin. He was charged with crimes that deserved the halter; there was a letter produced against him said to be written by himself many years before, in which he had made a full confession of all his crimes to a minister of his acquaintance. In fine, to crown his shame and to brand him with perpetual, ignominy, his adversaries had the mean cruelty to print these accusations, together with this very letter, in several journals in the supplement to Bayle's dictionary, and that of Moreri. This was a new method industriously invented to disgrace a man in the opinion of all Europe. It is strangely debasing literature to make a dictionary the register of crimes; and to sully, with the most abusive reflections, works that are designed to be the repositories of science. It was certainly contrary to the original intention of the first authors of these archives of learning, that they should become the propagators of scandal and falsities. The art of writing is in several countries made an infamous traffic, by which booksellers who can scarcely read, pay so much per sheet for falsities to a set of hireling scriblers, who have made literature the vilest of all professions. I have had an opportunity, by being on the spot, to examine nicely into the validity of the accusations published against Joseph Saurin. I have spoken in person to the lord of the manor of Bercher, where

GENERAL HISTORY. 131

where Saurin was minister. I have interrogated every individual of the family of this gentleman, who, as well as the lord himself, declared to me with one accord, that they had never seen the letter charged upon Saurin; and all joined in expressing the highest indignation at the scandalous abuse inserted in the supplement above-mentioned. This may be sufficient to engage every man of candour and probity to treat the story as it deserves.

Joseph Saurin died in 1737, like an intrepid philosopher, who was perfectly sensible of the nothingness of all worldly matters, and was filled with a just contempt for all the idle prejudices, disputes, and errors, which add a fresh weight to the already numberless miseries of human life.

He has left behind him a son of real merit, who is author of a tragedy called *Spartacus*, in which there are strokes equal to the most nervous and admired in Corneille.

At the End of the Chapter of celebrated Artists.

Vol. IX. ch. 215. **T**HE work of the Encyclopedia was begun by Messieurs d'Alembert and Diderot, in spite of the opposition and persecution that every great or useful undertaking always meets with from envy and ignorance. It is to be wished that some foreign hands had not disfigured this important work by puerile declamations, and insipid common place; notwithstanding which, it must be acknowledged to be of the greatest utility to mankind.

GENERAL VIEW

OF

EUROPE,

AFTER THE

DEATH of LEWIS XIV.

Beginning of the CHAPTER.

Vol. VIII. ch. 187.
page 1.

WE have given a pretty extensive idea of the age of Lewis XIV. the age of great men, of the fine arts, and of politeness; it was marked indeed, like all others, with calamities, public and private; calamities which are inseparably annexed to human nature: but, at the same time every blessing that could comfort mankind under the wretchedness of their weak and frail condition, seems to have been lavished on them in this age. Let us now take a review of the times that followed this reign, which was so turbulent in its beginning, so brilliant and illustrious for the space of fifty years, which was afterwards dashed with such a mixture of great misfortunes, and some little success; and which finally terminated in a deep gloom, after having been ushered in by turbulence and faction.

End

End of the Chapter concerning Law and
his System.

Vol. VIII. ch. 188. **T**HE world still speaks
page 18. with astonishment of

these times of infatuation
and political abuse; but how inconsiderable
was this scourge, in comparison of the civil
wars, and those on account of religion, which
so long drenched Europe in blood, and those
between nation and nation, or rather between
prince and prince, which still continue to lay
waste so many countries. The whole affair
was, that there were impostors at London and
Rotterdam, who made dupes of unthinking
people.

To begin the Chapter, intituled, Continuation
of the General View of EUROPE till the
Year 1756.

Vol. VIII. **W**E must not pass over unno-
ch. 199. ticed the administration of
cardinal Dubois. This man was the
son of an apothecary of Brive la Gaillarde, a
town in the government of Auvergne. His first
rise in life was being chosen preceptor to the
duke of Orleans, and afterwards, by being the
complaisant instrument to the pleasures of his
pupil, he became his confident; a middling
share of wit, a great stock of libertinism, the
most submissive adulation, but chiefly his ma-
ster's fondness for singularity, gained him an
immense

immense fortune. Had this cardinal prime minister been a man of serious character, his sudden rise would have excited indignation, whereas it only caused ridicule and contempt. The duke of Orleans himself made a jest of him, and in this resembled the pope, who made the person who carried about his monkey, a cardinal. Every thing was made a subject of laughter and burlesque under the regency of this merry prince; and the same spirit prevailed as in the times of the league, excepting a civil war, that is to say, this regent revived the true spirit of the French nation, which had been damped by a series of melancholy events in the latter part of the reign of Lewis XIV.

Cardinal Dubois died the victim of a long course of debauch. He fell upon an expedient to prevent his being fatigued in his last moments by those exercises of devotion for which it is well known he had very little regard. He pretended that there was a particular ceremony in regard to cardinals, by which they were excused from receiving the extreme unction and viaticum, like common people. The curate of Versailles thereupon preferred an information against his eminence; but Dubois cut short all proceedings by his death, which, agreeable to the character of our nation, was, like his administration, only made a matter of laughter.

The duke of Orleans now took the title of prime minister upon himself; for the king being at age, his office of regent ceased of consequence; but he did not long survive his favourite the cardinal. He was a prince whose only fault seemed to be an unbounded taste for pleasure and novelty.

GENERAL HISTORY. 135

Of all the race of Henry IV. Philip of Orleans resembled that monarch the most in his courage, goodness of heart, openness, gaiety, affability, and freedom of access, and with an understanding better cultivated.

The duke of Bourbon-Condé succeeded him almost instantaneously in the ministry, without having recourse to any other intrigues than that of causing the patent to be immediately made out, and waiting upon the king with it to be signed at the same time that he acquainted him with the death of the duke of Orleans. But it seems to have been always the fate of the Condé family to be obliged to yield to priests. Henry of Condé had been oppressed by cardinal de Richelieu, the great Condé was imprisoned by cardinal Mazarin, and the duke of Bourbon was driven into banishment by cardinal Fleury.

This latter was a native of Languedoc, born without fortune or expectations. He had been almoner to the dauphiness, a princess of the house of Bavaria, and we have a letter written by madame de Maintenon, in the year 1716, in which she thus expresses herself: "This is certainly not a person to be so soon made a bishop."



Cardinal de Fleury took the earliest opportunity to resign his bishopric of Frejus, after having by his oeconomy saved money enough to pay off a considerable number of debts, and having done a great deal of good by his mild and conciliatory disposition. These were the two prevailing parts of his characters; he alledged to the people of his diocese, as an excuse for quitting

quitting them, the bad state of his health, which would not permit him to attend properly to the care of the flock committed to his charge. Luckily for him however he never knew a day's illness.

The bishopric of Frejus, which was situated at a considerable distance from the court, and in a country not the most agreeable, had been always disliked by him : he had taken a distaste to his spiritual spouse ; and in a humorous letter which he wrote to cardinal Quirini, he signed himself, *Fleury, by the Divine displeasure, bishop of Frejus.*

He resigned at the beginning of the year 1715. The court of Rome, which is always well informed of what passes in other churches, knew that the free and absolute resignation which Fleury had made of his bishopric, was founded on a view of being made preceptor to the young dauphin, the present king of France. Pope Clement XI. who was very clear in this, declared it openly ; and marshal Villeroy, after abundance of solicitations, prevailed on Lewis XIV. actually to nominate the bishop of Frejus preceptor to his son by a codicil to his will. However, let us see how the new preceptor expresses himself on this event, in his letter to cardinal Quirini.

“ I have more than once,” says he, “ regretted my peaceable solitude of Frejus. On my arrival here I learnt that his late majesty had done me the honour to nominate me preceptor to his grandson ; had he been in a condition to have heard me speak, I should have earnestly besought him to ease me of a burthen the weight of which makes me
“ tremble ;

“ tremble ; but as he was dead, all I could say
 “ made no impression. This has thrown me
 “ into a fit of sickness, and nothing can com-
 “ fort me for the loss of that liberty I had aimed
 “ at by my resignation.”

But he insensibly found comfort in applying himself to form the mind of his pupil to business, secrecy, and probity ; and preserved, in the midst of the hurry and agitation of the court, during the minority, the good graces of the regent and the esteem of the public : he never made a merit of his own services, nor complained of others, and by never engaging in cabals or intrigues of the court, he never subjected himself to the mortification of a denial. He privately endeavoured to make himself acquainted with the affairs of the kingdom at home, and its political interests abroad. In a word, the circumspection of his conduct, and the amiableness of his disposition, made all France wish to see him at the head of the administration. He was the second preceptor who had governed that kingdom, and was satisfied with being absolute in his place, without taking the title of prime minister. He was less thwarted and envied in his ministry than either Richelieu or Mazarin, in the most peaceable part of theirs. His exaltation made no change in his manners ; and every one was surprised to find in a prime minister the most engaging, and, at the same time, the most disinterested courtier. Happily, his spirit of moderation, and the interest of the nation, were for a long time in accord. France stood in need of that peace of which her minister was so fond, and it was the opinion

opinion of all the foreign ministers, that it would never be broken so long as he held the reins of government.



Some writers of other countries have confounded this minister with the Abbé Fleury, author of the history of the church, and some excellent discourses which far exceed that work. This Abbé Fleury was confessor to Lewis XIV. he lived unknown in the midst of a court; a man of real modesty. The modesty of the other Fleury was that of an ambitious man of parts.

At the End of the CHAPTER.

Id. pag. 30. **A**LL was peaceable between the powers of Christendom, if we except disputes which began to arise about this time between the crowns of Spain and England, concerning the trade to the West Indies. France continued to be considered as the arbiter of Europe.

The emperor made war upon the Turks, without consulting the other princes of the Empire. This war proved unfortunate; but France saved him from the precipice by its mediation, and Mr. de Villeneuve, her ambassador at the Ottoman court, went into Hungary in 1730, and there concluded a peace with the Turkish visier, which proved a very seasonable relief to the emperor.

France

France almost at the same time compromised matters for the government of Genoa, which was threatened with a civil war, and quelled for a time the rebellious Corsicans, who had thrown off the yoke of that republic. The country of Corsica, which has for a considerable time taken the title of kingdom, was towards the end of the thirteenth century brought under subjection to Genoa. A country less extensive and less warlike than the other; but superior in riches. The Corsicans, who had always been an undisciplined and restless people, were at this time in open rebellion, having taken up arms ever since the year 1725, on pretence of having been tyrannically treated by their masters. A gentleman of the county of La Mark, in Germany, named Theodore Neuhoff, having travelled through all Europe, in hopes of making his fortune, happened to be at Leghorn in the year 1736. Here he entered into a correspondence with the Corsican malecontents, and offered them his service. He made a voyage to Tunis, where he exerted himself so effectually in their behalf, that he returned to Corsica loaded with arms, ammunition, and money. At his arrival he was proclaimed king of Corsica, crowned with a wreath of laurel, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants of the island. He put himself at their head, and carried on the war. The senate of Genoa set a price upon his head; but not being able either to get Theodore into their hands, or to subject the rebels, they had applied to the emperor for his protection. But this was thought a dangerous step, inasmuch as the emperor, who looks upon himself as lord-paramount of all Italy,

Italy, was hereby made sovereign judge between the state of Genoa and her rebellious subjects. The senate therefore had recourse to France, who successively sent generals and troops over to Corsica, who drove Theodore out of the island, reduced the malecontents to submission, and put every thing upon a peaceable footing, at least for some time. King Theodore went to London, where he died in a prison, neglected and despised.

While the court of France was thus acting as the benefactress of Genoa and Corsica, she at the same time interposed her good offices between the courts of London and Madrid, who had just begun a war, the more ruinous, as the possessions for which they disputed were of little or no advantage to either side. In 1735, the same crown had employed its mediation between those of Spain and Portugal; so that France was generally respected by all her neighbours, who had none of them any cause to complain of her, and was considered by all nations as their common mother and mediatrix.

DEATH

DEATH of the EMPEROR CHARLES VI.

The Imperial Succession disputed by four Powers. The Queen of Hungary acknowledged in all her father's deminions. Silesia seized by the King of Prussia.

Vol. VIII. ch. 190. pag. 30. **T**HE emperor Charles VI. died in the month of October, 1740, aged fifty-five years. It is necessary for all crowned heads, whose lives are of so great consequence to the peace and happiness of their people, to know that this monarch was the cause of his own death, by over-eating himself, at an entertainment*; an excess which cost him his life, and brought the empire to the brink of ruin. If the death of Augustus II. king of Poland, was the cause of great commotions, it may readily be imagined that of Charles VI. who was the last prince of the house of Austria, must have occasioned far other revolutions. In the first place, Italy had a prospect of acquiring that independence to which she had always aspired. Several petty states, reputed fiefs of the empire, pretended to deny this subjection. Rome in particular, that had been sacked by Charles the fifth, severely treated by his successors, oppressed, and obliged to pay a ransom by Joseph, the brother of this Charles VI. now flattered herself with the hopes of being for ever freed from

* He died by eating too heartily of a dish of mushrooms.
the

the pretensions of the German emperor, who have all, since Otho the first, imagined themselves successor to the rights of the ancient Cæsars: agreeable to which, the German chancery does to this day look upon the other kingdoms of Europe as provinces rent from the empire, and in their protocol they gave the title of majesty to no king whatever: the elector of Cologne stiles himself chancellor of Italy; and the elector of Triers assumes the title of chancellor of Gaul. The German king, elected at Francfort, is there declared king of the Romans, tho' he has not the least jurisdiction in Rome; and as such exacts tributes from all the provinces of Italy, wherever he is powerful enough to obtain them. This multiplicity of doubtful rights had, for upwards of seven hundred years, been the source of all the calamities and oppressions, that Italy had experienced during that period. Now it appeared highly probable that the troubles into which Germany would be plunged, by the sudden death of Charles VI. would restore these people to that liberty which they had so long wished for in vain. The new revolution which every one foresaw would be the consequence of the extinction of the house of Austria, whenever it should happen, might not only annihilate the rights, and even the name of Roman empire; but it also appeared a matter of doubt whether Germany might not be divided among several princes, so powerful as sooner or later, to refuse to acknowledge a supreme head, or, at least, to leave that head but a very small share of the authority of his predecessors.

The

GENERAL HISTORY. 143

The inheritance of the house of Austria, therefore, seemed on the point of passing into several hands. This inheritance consisted of Hungary and Bohemia, kingdoms that, after having been for a long series of time, elective, had been made hereditary by the princes of this house; of Austrian Suabia, called Austria anterior; of the upper and lower Austria, conquered in the thirteenth century; of Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Flanders, Burgau, the four forest towns, Brisgau, Friuli, Tirol, the Milanese, Mantua, and the dukedom of Parma; as to the two kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, they were already in the hands of don Carlos, son to Philip V. king of Spain.

Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI. founded her claims on the natural right of inheritance, solemnly confirmed by the pragmatic sanction, and guaranteed by almost all the European powers. On the other hand, Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, demanded the succession, by virtue of the will of Ferdinand I. brother to Charles V.

Augustus III. king of Poland, an elector of Saxony, alledged rights of a more recent nature; the rights of his own wife, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, the elder brother of the deceased emperor.

The king of Spain extended his pretensions to all the dominions of the house of Austria, deriving his right from a wife of Philip II. daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. and from whom he (Philip V.) was descended. Here was already a great revolution in the affairs of Europe; to see the house of France laying claim to the whole patrimony of that of Austria.

Austria. Lewis XV. had as just a pretension to this succession as any one, being descended in a direct line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by the wives of his great grand-father and grand-father, Lewis XIII. and XIV. But it appeared most prudent for him to act the part of umpire and protector, rather than that of a claimant; for he might, by that means, be able to determine this controverted succession, and that of the empire, in concert with one half of Europe; whereas, had he made only pretension to it himself, he was certain to have Europe against him. This great cause of so many crowned heads, was argued before the tribunal of Christendom, in a multitude of public manifestos and memorials. Princes and private persons alike interested themselves in the dispute, so that a general war was looked upon as inevitable; but, to the amazement and confusion of human policy, the storm began from a quarter that no one so much as thought of.

A new kingdom had been created at the beginning of the present century; the emperor, Leopold, availing himself of a right, which the German emperor had always exercised, that of creating kings, had in 1701, erected Ducal Prussia into a kingdom, in favour of Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg. Prussia was then no better than a vast desert; but Frederick William II. the second king, whose politics were different from those of all the princes his co-temporaries, expended near twenty-five millions of our money, in clearing lands, and building towns, and peopling them. He sent for several families from Suabia and Franconia,

GENERAL HISTORY. 145

conia, to settle there; and also invited above sixteen thousand persons from Saltzbouurg, all of whom he supplied with what was necessary for their subsistence, and to set them to work. While he was thus forming a new state, he made to himself, by œconomy, a power of a new kind; he laid by every month about sixty thousand German crowns, which composed an immense treasure in the course of a reign of eight and twenty years. What he did not thus put into his coffers, he made use of to raise an army of near eighty thousand chosen men, whom he disciplined himself, after a new manner, though he never availed himself of their service. But his son, Frederick III. made use of all those preparations of his father's. It was well known to all Europe, that this prince, who had tasted deeply of adversity, during his father's reign, had employed his leisure hours in cultivating his understanding, and improving the singular gifts he had received from nature; he was universally admired for talents which would have done honour to any private person; but he was not yet known to possess those of the monarch and the soldier; and Austria had no more apprehension of him than it had of the late king, his father, whom he succeeded three months before the imperial succession, and that of the house of Austria became vacant. Frederick foresaw the general confusion which that event occasioned, and he did not lose an instant to enter sword in hand into Silesia, one of the richest provinces belonging to the daughter of Charles VI. He laid claim to four dutchies, (in that province) which his ancestors had formerly been possessed of, by-

H pur-

purchases and family compacts, and to which they indeed renounced all claim by repeated public acts, as being too weak to support it; he, on the contrary, knowing himself sufficiently powerful, revived those pretensions anew.

France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony had been for some time busied in making a new emperor. Bavaria pressed France to procure for him some share in the Austrian succession. This elector laid claim to all those dominions by his manifestos, but he did not dare to claim them all by his ministers. In the mean time Maria Theresa, who had married the Grand Duke of Tuscany, took possession of all the dominions which had been left her by her father, and received the homage of the Austrian states at Vienna, November 7, 1740. Bohemia and the provinces of Italy swore allegiance to her by their deputies, and she won the affections of all the Hungarians, by submitting to take the ancient coronation oath of king Andrew II. made in the year 1222, and which was as follows: "If I, or any of my successors in time
"to come, shall attempt to violate your privi-
"leges; it shall be lawful for you and your
"descendants, in virtue of the promise I now
"make you, to defend yourselves, without be-
"ing liable to be treated as rebels."

The aversion which the ancestors of the arch-dutchess had always shewn to enter into these engagements with their subjects, and the prudent step she took on this occasion, endeared her infinitely to the Hungarians, inasmuch that they who had always been endeavouring to throw off the yoke of the house of Austria, embraced that of Maria Theresa; and, after two hundred

GENERAL HISTORY. 147

hundred years of sedition, quarrels, and civil wars, they became on a sudden devoted to a family for which they had formerly expressed so much hatred. The queen was crowned at Presburg the 24th of June, 1741; this was not till some months after her accession: however, she was not the less considered as a sovereign, and she had already established her reign in all hearts, by an affability and popularity which few of her ancestors had ever exercised. She banished from her court that form and restraint which frequently renders princes hateful, without ever procuring them more respect. Her aunt the arch-dutchess, governess of the Low Countries, never suffered any person to eat at table with her; Maria Theresa, on the contrary, admitted to her's all her ladies and officers of distinction: the deputies of the state were permitted to speak to her with freedom; she never refused audience to any one, and no person ever departed from her presence dissatisfied.

Her first care was to make her consort the grand duke of Tuscany, the partner of all her dignities and possessions, under the title of Co-Regent, without lessening her own sovereignty, or violating the pragmatic sanction: she mentioned this her intention to the Austrian states the same day she received their homage, and soon after put it into execution. She flattered herself, even then, that the dignities with which she adorned her royal consort, would have prepared the way for him to the imperial throne; but she had no money, and her troops were not only greatly diminished, but dispersed

in the different parts of her extensive dominions.

The king of Prussia caused a proposal to be made to her, to yield the Lower Silesia to him, and, in return, offered to assist her with his whole interest, with his arms and five millions of our livres, in order to secure to her the possession of all the rest, and to obtain the empire for the Grand Duke her consort. Some statesmen of no small abilities thought that the Germanic constitution was now on the point of being overturned ; but this princess, whose veins were enriched with the blood of so many emperors, disdained even the thought of sacrificing any part of her patrimony ; and though weak she was undaunted. Numbers of Austrians, considering only the grandeur of the court of Vienna and not its weakness, declared loudly, that the elector of Brandenburg would be put under the ban of the empire. Even the ministers of that monarch were daunted at the sound of the Austrian name ; but the king, who saw clearly that it was no more than a name, and that from the state of Europe at that time, he was sure to have allies, entered Silesia at the head of his troops in the month of December 1740.

At first it was proposed to put the words *Pro Deo & patriâ* (for God and my country) on his colours by way of device ; but he struck out the two first, saying, that he would not have the name of God blended with the quarrels of men ; and that his dispute was about a province, and not concerning religion. He caused the Roman eagle, displayed in relief, to be fixed on the top of a gilded staff, and to be carried before

fore his own regiment of guards. This air of novelty laid him under a kind of necessity of being invincible. He also harangued his soldiers, to resemble in every respect the antient Romans. As soon as he entered Silesia, he made himself master of almost all that province of which they had refused him a part: but hitherto things remained in an uncertain state.

General Neuperg marched to the relief of the invaded province with an army of 24,000 Austrias, and obliged the king of Prussia to come to an engagement at Molwitz, near the river Neiss. There it was that the Prussian infantry shewed what they were able to perform: the king's cavalry, less strong by half than that of the Austrians, was entirely broken; the first line of his infantry was taken in flank; the battle was given for lost, all the king's baggage was pillaged, and he himself, in danger of being taken, was carried away by the croud that surrounded him: but his second line of infantry retrieved the fortune of the day, by that unshaken discipline to which they are so well accustomed, by their incessant fire (which they repeat at least five times in a minute) and by charging their muskets with their iron ramrods in a moment. In a word, they gained the victory, and this event became the signal of an universal flame.

The King of FRANCE unites with the Kings of PRUSSIA and POLAND, to advance CHARLES ALBERT, Elector of BAVARIA, to the Imperial Throne. That Prince is declared a Lieutenant-General in the Service of FRANCE. He is elected Emperor. His Successes and rapid Losses.

AT the time that the king of Prussia seized upon Silesia, all Europe imagined him in alliance with France; but in this they were mistaken, as is frequently the case with those who argue only from appearances. It is certain, that by this step the king of Prussia hazarded a great deal, as he himself has acknowledged; but then he foresaw that France would not let slip so fair an opportunity of seconding him. It was the interest of that crown to favour her old ally, the elector of Bavaria, whose father had lost his all in fighting her cause, after the battle of Hockstet. This very Charles Albert, the elector of Bavaria, had also been made prisoner by the Austrians, when a child, and his very title of Bavaria taken from him. France now found it her interest to avenge him. It seemed no difficult matter to procure him at once the empire, and a part of the Austrian succession. By this step of the new house of Lorraine, Austria would be deprived of that superiority which the old one had affected to have over the other princes of Europe; and moreover it would abolish the old rivalry subsisting between the dependents of Bourbon and Austria, which would be effecting

ing more than Henry IV. and cardinal Richelieu had ever hoped to compass.

The king of Prussia foresaw this revolution even before it was begun, at the time that he set out for Silesia; and it is so true, that he had not concerted any measures with cardinal Fleury, that the marquiss of Beauveau, who had been sent to Berlin, to compliment the new king on his accession, knew not, on the first movement of the Prussian troops, whether they were destined against France or Austria. King Frederick said to him, as he was going to set out, "I believe I am going to play your game; if I throw aces, we'll share the winnings."

This was the sole beginning of a negotiation then at a distance. The French ministry were for some time in dispute which side to take. Fleury, then in his eighty-fifth year, was not for staking his reputation, his old age, and his country, on the hazard of a new war. The pragmatic sanction signed, and authentically guarantied, was a curb upon him; but then, on the other hand, former treaties, made with the house of Bavaria, offered him encouragement. It is certain, that this war was loudly demanded, both by court and city, notwithstanding that they afterwards joined in condemning it. I heard a man of great distinction say, "Cardinal Richelieu pulled down the house of Austria, and cardinal Fleury will, if he can, erect a new one." These words, which came to the minister's ears, piqued him sensibly; but did not make him change his opinion.

It was the count, afterwards marshal duke of Belleisle, and his brother, nephew of the famous

mous Fouquet, who, without having any share in public affairs, or as yet any access to the king, or any power with the cardinal, brought him to a resolution.

Marshal Belleisle, tho' he had not done any thing extraordinary, had a great reputation; and tho' he had neither been a minister, or a general, was thought better qualified than any one to conduct either the army or the state: he saw things in all their points of light, and was the only courtier perfectly acquainted with the interior springs of government, and almost the only officer who kept up military discipline. He was naturally fond of glory and of business, without which there can be no true glory; he was exact and indefatigable, and had a taste alike for the business of negotiation, and that of the cabinet and the field: but a very bad state of health frequently destroyed the fruits of these great talents. Always in action, and always full of projects, the strength of his body was not sufficient to support the efforts of his mind. He was alike admired for his politeness as a courtier, and for his honest frankness as a soldier. He found the means to persuade, without the gift of eloquence, by always appearing to be persuaded himself. He wrote in a plain and common stile; and to read his dispatches, one would not suppose him to be possessed of such strong and active ideas.

The chevalier de Belleisle, his brother, had the same ambition and the same views, but somewhat deeper; this was the result of a hale constitution, which enabled him to support the greatest fatigues of business. His air was more gloomy than that of his brother, and not so engaging;

engaging ; but he subdued those hearts into which his brother had insinuated himself. His eloquence was like his courage ; and under an appearance of reserve and deep thoughtfulness, one might perceive something very powerful ; in a word, he was capable of planning, undertaking, and executing any thing.

These two men, not more united by the ties of blood than by the parity of ideas, undertook to change the face of all Europe. The cardinal opposed their plan of operations : he even delivered his opinion against it to the king in writing : and now, if he had been desirous to have ended his career in a truly glorious manner, he should have retired from business ; but he had not resolution enough to quit the ministry, and to live retired, though in the very brink of the grave : in a word, the marshal and his brother had the management of all the necessary dispositions, and the old cardinal seemed to preside at the head of an undertaking which he disapproved.

Every thing in the beginning seemed to favour the scheme : marshal Belleisle was sent to the king of Prussia, then in his camp at Frankfort, and from thence to Dresden, to settle the vast projects which the concurrence of so many princes seemed to render infallible. He in every thing agreed with the king of Prussia, who promised, by a private writing, not to make peace without the knowledge of his allies. Belleisle from thence went into Saxony, where he gained such an ascendancy over the minds of that court, that they promised him, as he himself has told me, to march a body of troops even before the signing of the

treaty. The marshal also negotiated in all the courts of Germany, and was the life and soul of that body which was to procure the empire, and the hereditary crowns of the house of Austria, for a prince who could do nothing for himself. France furnished the elector of Bavaria at one and the same time with money, allies, votes, and arms; he had promised twenty thousand of his own troops, but could hardly raise twelve thousand, though assisted with French money. The king sent him the army he had promised him, and, at the same time, by letters patent*, created him his lieutenant-general, whom he was about to make emperor of Germany.

The elector of Bavaria, thus strengthened, easily penetrated into Austria, while Maria Theresa could, with difficulty, make head against the king of Prussia. He soon made himself master of Passau, an imperial city, governed by its bishop. This place separates Upper Austria from Bavaria. He advanced as far as Linz, the capital of Upper Austria, and some of his parties skirmished within three leagues of Vienna. The alarm was now spread, the whole city was in confusion, and they prepared for a siege with all expedition; one whole suburb and a palace, bordering on the fortifications, are entirely destroyed. The Danube is covered with vessels transporting the most valuable effects of the inhabitants to places of greater security. The elector of Bavaria

* These letters were not signed till the twentieth of August, 1741.

even sends a summons to count Kevenhuller, governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were at that time far from holding in their hands that balance to which they had long pretended. The states-general kept a profound silence on seeing marshal Maillebois' army, which was then in Westphalia; and this same army over-awed the king of England, who trembled for the safety of his Hanoverian dominions, where he then resided. He had raised twenty-five thousand men to succour Maria Theresa, and at the head of this very army, he was obliged to abandon her and sign a neutrality. His domesticks were furnished with passports for their persons and baggage by the French general, to carry them to London, and the king himself returned by the way of Westphalia and Holland.

At that time there was not one prince, either within or without the empire, who supported that pragmatic sanction which so many of them had guarantied. Vienna, weakly fortified on that side where it was threatened, could not have held out long. Those who were best acquainted with Germany, and the state of public affairs, looked upon that city as good as taken, by which the assistance which Maria Theresa might otherwise have drawn from the Hungarians, would have been cut off, her dominions laid entirely open to the arms of the conqueror, all claims settled, and peace restored to the empire, and to Europe. And even cardinal de Fleury was so much encouraged by those favourable dispositions in a project, for which he had in the beginning so great a repugnance, that he said to some officers, who waited

on him late to take leave, "Gentlemen, "this will not be a long business, and I hope "to see you again very soon."

The courage and resolution of Maria Theresa seemed to encrease with the difficulties she had to surmount; she had quitted Vienna to throw herself into the arms of the Hungarians, whom her father and ancestors had treated with so much severity. Having assembled the four orders of the state at Presbourg, she appeared in the midst of them, holding in her arms her eldest son, then an infant in his cradle, and addressing herself to them in Latin, which tongue she spoke perfectly well, she expressed herself nearly in these words: "Forsaken by "my friends, persecuted by my enemies, and "attacked by my nearest relation, I have no "other resource but your fidelity, your courage, "and my own constancy: to your care I "surrender the daughter and son of your "kings, who from you expect their safety." All the palatines, softened, and, at the same time, animated by this short speech, drew their sabres, crying out with one voice, *Moria-mur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa*, "Let us "die for our king Maria Theresa;" for it is to be observed, they always give the title of king to their queens; and never in fact did prince's better deserve that title. They shed tears in taking the oath to defend her, her eyes alone were dry; but when she withdrew with her maids of honour, those tears which the greatness of her soul had hitherto suppressed, burst forth in abundance. She was at this time with child, and had written, not long before, to her mother-in-law, the dutchess of Lorrain, these

these words ; “ I, as yet, know not whether
 “ I shall have a single town left wherein to be
 “ brought to bed.”

In this condition she excited the zeal of the Hungarians. England and Holland roused in her behalf, and supplied her with money ; she corresponded with all the states of the empire ; negotiated with the king of Sardinia, while her provinces furnished her with soldiers.

The whole kingdom of England took part in her distresses. The English are not a people who wait to know their sovereign's opinion before they give theirs. Some private persons proposed a free-gift for this princess. The dutchess of Marlborough, whose husband had fought for Charles VI. assembled the principal ladies of London, whom she induced to advance, for this cause, an hundred thousand pounds sterling, herself subscribing forty thousand of the sum. The queen of Hungary had the greatness of soul to decline accepting of this money, which was so generously offered her, resolved to wait for such sums as should be granted by the nation in parliament assembled.

It was generally believed, that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would have marched to the siege of Vienna ; what the enemy fears should be always carried into execution. This was one of those decisive strokes, one of those lucky opportunities, which fortune presents once, and if neglected, is never to be recovered afterwards. The elector of Bavaria had entertained thoughts of taking Vienna ; but he had made no preparations for the siege, and had neither artillery nor ammunition. Cardinal

dinal Fleury had not extended his views so far as to put that capital into the elector's hands; he generally confined himself to projects of a middling nature; he was for dividing the spoils before he had them, and did not intend that the emperor of his making should enjoy the whole succession.

The French army, commanded by the elector of Bavaria, and reinforced with 20,000 Saxons, marched towards Prague in Nov. 1741. Count Maurice of Saxony, natural brother to the king of Poland, took the place by escalade. This general, who inherited from his father his very extraordinary bodily strength, as well as his real worth and sweetness of temper, was moreover endued with the greatest talents for war. His great reputation induced the people of Courland to elect him their duke; but Russia, having wrested from him what he had received from the unanimous suffrages of a whole people, he consoled himself in the service of France, and the social pleasures of a nation, which was not as yet sufficiently acquainted with his merit.

It was necessary that Prague should be taken in a few days, or the enterprise abandoned. They were in want of provisions, the season was far advanced, and the town, tho' poorly fortified, could easily resist the first attack. General Ogilvy, an Irishman by birth, commanded in the place with a garrison of 3000 men, and the grand duke was in full march with an army of 30,000 to its relief, and on the 25th of November was actually within five leagues of it, when that very night the French and Saxons made an assault upon the town.

They

They made two attacks under cover of a desperate fire from their artillery, which drew the attention of the whole garrison to that side. In the mean time, count Saxe silently had a single ladder fixed to the rampart of the New Town, in a part very distant from that where the assault was given. It happened that the ladder was not long enough, which obliged them to make up the deficiency by hand-barrows. Monsieur de Chevert, at that time Lieut. Col. of the regiment of Beauſſe, was the first man that mounted. He was followed by marshal Broglio's eldest son. They reach the rampart, and find only one centinel at some distance. They are soon followed by numbers, and make themselves masters of the place. The whole garrison lay down their arms, and general Ogilvy with his 3000 men surrender prisoners of war. Count Saxe saved the town from being pillaged, and, what was very extraordinary, the conquerors and the conquered were mixed pell-mell for three days; French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohemians, walked the streets in common without distinction and without shedding a drop of blood. Thus Prague was taken by escalade.

The elector of Bavaria, who was just arrived at the camp, transmitted an account of this success to the king, in such terms as a general would address the prince whose armies he commanded. He made his public entry into the capital of Bohemia the same day on which it was taken, and was crowned in the month of December. In the mean time, the grand duke finding he had not been able to save the town, and that subsistence failed in the quarters which
he

he occupied, retired to the southern part of the province, and left the command of the army to his brother prince Charles of Lorrain.

During these transactions the king of Prussia made himself master of Moravia, a province that lies between Bohemia and Silesia; so that Maria Theresa seemed overpowered on all sides. Her competitor had been crowned archduke of Austria at Lintz; he had been lately crowned king of Bohemia at Prague, from whence he went to Frankfort to receive the imperial diadem, under the name of Charles VII. All the electors had suspended the vote of Bohemia, while that province remained in the possession of the queen of Hungary, on pretext, that a woman had no right of suffrage. The elector of Bavaria, now master of Prague, might at the instant of election have made use of the vote of Bohemia in his own favour; but as he had no need of it, he suffered it to lie dormant.

Marshal Belleisle, who had followed him from Prague to Frankfort, appeared rather as one of the principal electors than as the ambassador of France. He managed all the votes, and directed all the negotiations; he received all the honours due to the representative of a king who bestowed the imperial crown. The elector of Mentz, who is president of the election, gave him the right hand in his own palace; and the ambassador, on the contrary, gave the right hand in his own house to electors only, taking place of all other princes. His instructions as plenipotentiary were delivered to the German Chancery in French, although that court had formerly required all such papers to

GENERAL HISTORY. 161

be presented in the Latin tongue, as being the proper language of a government which assumes the title and denomination of the Roman empire.

Charles Albert was elected in the most tranquil and solemn manner on the 4th of January, 1742. He now appeared covered with glory, and at the summit of happiness; but fortune soon put on a different aspect, and his very elevation rendered him one of the most unfortunate princes upon earth.

Rapid disasters which followed the successes of the Emperor CHARLES ALBERT of BAVARIA.

Every thing retrieved again by LEWIS XV. and Marshal SAXE.

THE fault that had been committed in not providing a sufficient number of cavalry began now to be felt. Marshal Belleisle was sick at Frankfort, and besides, he could not at one and the same time conduct negotiations, and command an army at a distance. Misunderstandings began to arise among the allies, the Saxons complained greatly of the Prussians, these of France, and these latter cried out likewise in their turn.

Maria Theresa was supported by her own magnanimity, and by the money of England, Holland, and Venice, by loans on Flanders, but above all, by the desperate ardour of her troops, which she assembled from all quarters. The French army was destroyed by fatigue, sickness,

ness, and desertion; their leaders had but little credit, and recruits were difficult to be got. The French did not find the same fortune as Gustavus Adolphus, who opened his campaign in Germany with less than 10,000 men, yet in a short time found his forces encreased to 30,000, augmenting them in proportion as he advanced.

The French army, which on its entering Bohemia, should have amounted to 45,000 men, consisted on its leaving France of no more than 32,000, and in this number there was but 8000 horse. Every day then weakened the victorious French, and added new strength to the Austrians. Prince Charles of Lorrain, brother to the Grand Duke, was in the heart of Bohemia, at the head of 35,000 effective men. The country was in his interest, and he began a defensive war very successfully, by keeping the enemy in continual alarms, cutting off their convoys, and harrassing them perpetually on all sides, by swarms of hussars, croats, pandours, and talpaches.

The pandours are Slavonians, inhabiting the banks of the Drave, and the Save; they wear long cloaks, and in their girdles they carry pistols, a sabre, and a poignard.

The talpaches are Hungarian infantry; they go armed with a musket, two pistols, and a sabre.

The croats, called in France *cravates*, are the militia of Croatia.

The hussars are Hungarian cavalry, mounted upon small horses, which are extremely swift and hardy. These fall upon, and cut off, advanced posts that are weak and not properly sup-

supported with cavalry, which was every where the case of the French and Bavarian troops.

The elector of Bavaria thought a small number of troops would be sufficient to secure a vast extent of country, which it was imagined the queen of Hungary was in no condition to retake; but herein he was deceived. Every thing was retaken, and the seat of war was at length transported from the Danube to the Rhine.

Cardinal Fleury, on seeing all his hopes disconcerted, and so fair a beginning succeeded by such a train of disasters, wrote a letter to general Konigseck, which was delivered to him by marshal Belleisle. In this letter the cardinal excuses himself on the score of the war, which, he says, was undertaken against his consent; and acknowledges, that he had been hurried out of his own measures. “Many people, says he, know how strenuously I opposed the resolutions which have been taken; and that I was, in a manner, compelled to acquiesce in them. Your excellency is too well acquainted with all that passed, not to guess at the person who left nothing undone to determine the king to enter into a league so contrary to my liking and my principles.”

The only answer the queen of Hungary made, was by causing the cardinal's letter to be printed. It was easy to foresee the ill effects this letter must have produced. In the first place the whole blame of the war was thrown upon the very general who was commissioned to negotiate with count Konigseck; and to render his person odious was not the way to make his negotiations successful. Secondly,

Secondly, this letter plainly acknowledged a weakness in the ministry; and he must have had a very slender knowledge of mankind who could not foresee that advantage would be taken of this weakness, that the allies of France would grow cool upon it, and her enemies gather more courage.

The cardinal, finding his letter made public, wrote a second, in which he complains to the Austrian general, and says, "That he shall not hereafter write his mind so freely to him." This second letter did him more harm than the first. Indeed, he disavowed them both in the public papers; and this disavowal, of which no one was the dupe, crowned all those imprudent proceedings that milder judges excused in an old man of eighty-seven, worn out with a series of ill success. At length, the emperor offered proposals for a peace to the court of London, and particularly to secularize the two bishoprics in dispute in favour of Hanover; but the English ministry, not thinking the emperor's interposition in the least necessary towards obtaining these bishoprics, insulted his proposals by making them public; and the emperor found himself reduced to the necessity of disavowing his offers of peace, as cardinal Fleury had disowned the war.

The dispute now became warmer than ever; France on the one hand, and England on the other, under the name of auxiliaries, though principals in fact, strove to grasp the ballance of Europe sword in hand. Holland at length declared in favour of Maria Theresa. Germany, Flanders, and Italy, were alternately the theatre of war, as happened in the year 1701: and the
house

GENERAL HISTORY. 165

house of Bourbon was, for the second time, obliged to support a war against almost all the powers of Europe.

At the beginning of the Chapter concerning the War between France and England in the Year 1756.

Vol. VIII. ch. 196. **E**UROPE, in general, never beheld such glorious days as from the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, to the beginning of the year 1756. Trade flourished from Petersbourg to Cadiz, the fine arts were every where cherished, and a mutual intercourse subsisted between all nations; so that Europe resembled a large family reconciled, after having been at a long variance. The new misfortunes which were about to befall this part of the world, seemed foretold by the dreadful earthquakes which were felt in divers of its provinces, but more terribly in Lisbon than elsewhere. The greatest part of that capital was thrown to the ground, and buried in its ruins upwards of thirty thousand of its inhabitants. This fearful scourge extended itself to Spain; the little town of Setubal (commonly called St. Ubes) was almost wholly destroyed, and others considerably damaged. The sea, making a breach over the walls of Cadiz, carried away every thing it met in its passage. These shocks were not confined to Europe alone, the opposite country of Africa had its share in the desolation; and the same day that the misfortune befel Lisbon, a whole nation of
Arabs

Arabs in the neighbourhood of Morocco were swallowed up by the opening of the earth, and the cities of Fez and Mequinez were even greater sufferers than Lisbon.

This dire disaster should have made mankind look into themselves, and consider, that, as the common victims of fate, they ought to comfort, instead of oppressing, each other. The Portuguese imagined they should deprecate the wrath of Heaven, by burning the Jews and others of their fellow creatures at an *Auto da Fé*, or *Act of Faith*, as it is called, which other nations look upon as an act of inhumanity, and even at that time the other powers of Europe were preparing to stain with blood the earth that as yet trembled under their feet.

The first fatal catastrophe happened in Sweden; that kingdom had been changed to a republic, in which the sovereign was no more than the principal magistrate. He was obliged to comply with the majority of votes in the senate; the states which were composed of the nobles, the burghers, the clergy, and the peasants, had a power of altering the laws of the senate, but the king could not.

Certain of the nobles, more attached to the person of their prince than to the new laws of the country, entered into a conspiracy against the senate in his favour, the plot was discovered, and the conspirators punished with death. And what in a government purely monarchical would have passed for a virtuous and meritorious deed, was deemed an infamous and treasonable act in a country become free. Thus the same actions are virtuous or criminal according to times and places.

This

GENERAL HISTORY. 167

This affair alienated the minds of the Swedes from their king, and was partly the occasion of their declaring war against Frederick, king of Prussia, whose sister had been married to the king of Sweden.

The revolutions which the king of Prussia and his enemies were preparing at that time, were like a flame smothering beneath the embers, that soon afterwards burst forth with fury to the desolation of Europe ; but the first sparks came from America.

The WAR in GERMANY.

An Elector of Brandenburg alone opposes the Houses of Austria and Bourbon, and the Empires of Germany and Russia.

MEMORABLE EVENTS.

LEWIS XIV. has been admired for making head alone against Germany, England, Italy, and Holland, joined in league against him. We have seen an event still more extraordinary : an elector of Brandenburg, who alone has stood against the united forces of the houses of Austria and Bourbon, Russia, Sweden, and one half of the empire.

This is a prodigy which can only be attributed to the excellent discipline of his troops, and the superior genius of their leader. Chance may decide the fate of one battle ; but when we see the weaker party resisting those so much superior to him, for the space of seven years together, in a country altogether open, we can no longer

longer suppose this to be the work of fortune; and, in this respect, the present war differs from all those which have hitherto ravaged the face of the earth.

We have already taken notice that the second king of Prussia, who was the only sovereign of Europe possessed of a treasure, and who had brought his troops to good discipline, established a new kind of power in Germany. We have seen also how the preparations made by the father emboldened the son alone to brave the Austrian power, and seize upon Silesia.

The empress queen was waiting with patience for a favourable opportunity to repossess herself of that province. It would formerly have been a matter of indifference to the other powers of Europe, whether a petty country annexed to Bohemia belonged to one house or to another; but politics, like the other ideas of the human mind, having been refined rather than improved of late, this trifling dispute has put arms into the hands of above half a million of men. There never had been so great a number of effective fighting men, either in the crusades, or in the irruptions of the conquerors of Asia. The following is the manner in which this great scene opened.

Elizabeth, empress of Russia, was closely allied with the empress queen Maria Theresa, by ancient treaties, by their common interest, which united them against the Ottoman empire, and by a mutual inclination. Augustus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, who had been reconciled to the empress queen, and was naturally attached to Russia, to whom he
was

GENERAL HISTORY. 169

was indebted for his title of king of Poland, was intimately connected with both princesses. These three powers had each their subjects of complaint against Frederick king of Prussia. Maria Theresa saw Silesia rent from her patrimony. Augustus and his council wanted reparation for the ravages committed in Saxony, by the king of Prussia, in the war of Forty-one, and there were some complaints of a personal nature between that monarch and the empress Elizabeth.

These three powers, all equally exasperated against the king of Prussia, entered into the most intimate correspondence, the effects of which were greatly feared by that prince. Austria was augmenting her forces, those of Elizabeth were ready; but the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was not in a condition to undertake any thing; his electoral finances were exhausted, and he had no place of any strength to stop the Prussians from marching to Dresden. And as order and œconomy had rendered Brandenburg a formidable state, dissipation and neglect had enfeebled Saxony; and the Saxon council were not easily to be persuaded to enter into measures that might have proved of fatal consequences to the state.

The king of Prussia, without any hesitation, and without consulting any one, took himself the resolution, in the year 1755, to be beforehand with those powers whose proceedings had given him so much umbrage. He began by making an alliance with the king of England, elector of Hanover; he secured the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the house of Brunswick; and thus gave up his alliance with France.

It was at this period, as we have elsewhere observed *, that the ancient feuds between the houses of Bourbon and Austria, which had subsisted ever since the time of the emperor Charles V. and Francis I. of France, gave place to a reconciliation and friendly union, which appeared sincere and permanent, and which greatly surprised all Europe. This union was, by the English parliament, called *an unnatural alliance*; but when the English wanted to reign masters, it was a very natural one, and in no wise contravened the peace of Westphalia. It appeared highly propable that these two powerful houses, thus united and seconded by Russia, Sweden, and several of the German powers, might keep the rest of Europe in awe.

The treaty was signed at Versailles, between Lewis XV. and Maria Theresa. The abbé de Bernis, afterwards cardinal, had the sole honour of bringing about this famous treaty, which overturned all the edifice of cardinal Richelieu, and, in all appearance, erected another, more noble and extensive on its ruins. De Bernis was soon afterwards made minister of state, and almost as soon disgraced.

This step only served to make the king of Prussia more alert to take the field. He marched his troops into Saxony, which was in a manner defenceless, designing to make this province a kind of rampart against the Austrian power, and a way to come at her more effectually. He immediately made himself master of Leipstick, and a part of his army appeared before the gates

* See Vol. VIII, chap. cxcv, pag. 73.

of Dresden. King Augustus thereupon retired, as his father had done before the victorious Charles XII. He quitted his capital, and went to his camp at Pirnau, in the neighbourhood of Konigstein, on the road to Bohemia, and on the borders of the Elbe, where he thought himself in safety.

Frederick then enters Dresden as a master, though under the name of a protector. The queen of Poland, daughter to the emperor Joseph, had refused to join her consort in his flight, and remained in the city. They demanded of her the keys of the public archives; and upon her refusing to deliver them up, prepared to break open the doors. The queen then places herself in their way, hoping that they would respect her person and courage; but, without regarding either, they forcibly opened, in her sight, the sacred deposits of the state. It was especially necessary for the king of Prussia to get into his hands authentic proofs of the designs of the elector of Saxony against him. He succeeded, and found sufficient testimonies of the apprehensions they had of him; and yet these very apprehensions, which ought to have induced the court of Dresden to put itself in a posture of defence, only served to make it the victim of a powerful neighbour; and it was too late perceived, that Saxony, considering the situation in which it had been for such a number of years, ought to have given all its attention to warlike concerns instead of pleasure. There are certain situations, in which the only alternative left is to prepare for resistance, to conquer or to perish.

On the first news of this invasion, the aulic council of the empire declared the king of Prussia a disturber of the public peace, and a rebel ; but it was not easy to give this denunciation any weight against a prince who had an hundred and fifty thousand fighting men under his command. He answered their edicts by giving battle to the Austrian army ; whence he marched to that on the confines of Bohemia, near a village called Lowositz.

This first battle was not decisive, as to the numbers slain on either side ; but it proved so with respect to its consequences. The king, in spite of the utmost efforts of the Austrians, blocked up the Saxons in their camp at Pirnau ; and the king of Poland's little army, consisting only of about thirteen or fourteen thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war in a week after the battle.

Augustus, in this very extraordinary capitulation, which was the only military event that happened between him and the king of Prussia, only requested that his own regiment of guards might not be made prisoners ; but he was answered by Frederick, “ that he could not “ grant that request, for that he was very certain these guards would serve against him, “ and he did not chuse to be at the trouble of “ taking them twice.” This reply was a terrible lesson to all princes to make themselves powerful, when they have a powerful neighbour.

The king of Poland, having thus lost his electorate and his army, was necessitated to apply to his enemy for passports, to carry him into Poland, which were very readily granted ;
and

and they had moreover the insulting politeness to furnish him with post-horses. He went then from his hereditary into his elective dominions, where he found not a single person willing to take up arms to support their sovereign. The whole electorate of Saxony was put under contribution, and the king of Prussia found sufficient supplies in the countries he had invaded, to defray the expences of carrying on the war. The queen of Poland, who had not followed her husband, remained behind in Dresden, where she died a short time afterwards of grief. All Europe pitied the sufferings of this distressed family; but in the course of these calamities, there were a thousand other families that experienced as great sufferings, though not of so public a nature. The civil magistrates of Leipstick made remonstrances against the contributions which the victor had imposed on them, and which they declared themselves utterly incapable of raising: they were answered by being thrown into prison, and they paid the sums demanded.

Never have so many battles been fought as during the course of this war. The Russians entered the Prussian territories by the way of Poland. The French, now auxiliaries to the queen of Hungary, fought for the recovery of Silesia; a country, which a few years before, they had assisted to take from her, when allies of the king of Prussia. The king of England, who had formerly shewn himself the most zealous supporter of the house of Austria, was now become its most formidable enemy. Sweden, that in the preceding war, had struck at the very existence of that house, now sent

its forces to serve in its armies against the king of Prussia, for a subsidy of nine hundred thousand franks : these troops were guilty of the least ravages of any.

Germany now beheld itself torn to pieces by many more national troops than in the famous thirty years war.

While the Russians were marching through Poland to the assistance of the empress queen, the French entered Germany by the duchy of Cleves, and by Wesel, which had been abandoned by the Prussians, and took all the country of Hesse; they then bent their march towards the electorate of Hanover, in order to give battle to an army of English, Hanoverians, and Hessians, commanded by the same duke of Cumberland who had attacked Lewis XV. at Fontenoy.

The king of Prussia went in search of the Austrian army in Bohemia, and at the same time left a considerable body of troops to make head against the Russians. The troops of the empire, called the army of execution, were ordered to penetrate into Saxony, now intirely in the possession of the Prussians. Thus Germany was at once a prey to six formidable armies, that devoured her very vitals.

The king of Prussia marched immediately to attack prince Charles of Lorrain, the emperor's brother, and general Brown, near Prague. The battle was bloody; but the Prussian army proved victorious, and obliged a part of the Austrian infantry to take shelter in the city of Prague, in which they were blocked up by the victorious troops, for above two months. There were a great number of princes in the town.

town. Provisions began to grow scarce, and it was generally believed that Prague would fall a sacrifice, and that the house of Austria would suffer more from Frederick than it had done from Gustavus Adolphus.

But the conqueror lost all the fruits of his success, by grasping at every thing at once. Count Caunitz, prime minister of the empress queen, a man as active in the cabinet, as the king of Prussia was in the field, had already assembled an army under the command of marshal Daun. The king of Prussia did not hesitate an instant to attack this army, in hopes that the reputation of his late victories would strike a terror into the enemy's troops. This army once dispersed, Prague must necessarily capitulate after a short bombardment; and he was then absolute master of Germany. Marshal Daun had entrenched his army on the brow of a hill. The Prussians attacked the trenches seven different times, with incredible fury, and were as often repulsed. Frederick lost near twenty-five thousand men, killed wounded, runaways, and deserters. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who was shut up in Prague, made a sally, and pursued the Prussians. The change in the face of things was now as great as the king of Prussia's hopes and exploits had been before this event.

The French, on their side, powerfully supported Maria Theresa. The marechal d'Estrees who commanded their army, had already passed the Weser, and followed close upon the duke of Cumberland, who was marching towards Minden; he came up with that general at Hastenbeck, gave him battle, and gained a complete

victory. The princes of *Condé* and *la Marche Conti* gave the first proofs of their military talents in this battle, and the blood-royal of France disputed the honour of the field with that of England. And here let us observe, that, by some intrigues at court, the marshal d'Estrées had been removed from the command of the army, and the orders were already gone forth to put this affront upon him, when he gained this victory. The courtiers pretended to find fault with him for not having conquered the whole electorate of Hanover, and not having marched as far as Magdebourg. They thought that every thing was to be terminated in a single campaign. Such was the confidence of the French court in the year 1741, when, after having made an emperor, it thought to dispose of all the dominions of the house of Austria; and in the beginning of the age of Lewis XIV. when that monarch and Philip V. of Spain, having made themselves masters of Italy and Flanders, and being seconded by two electors, thought to give laws to all Europe, and found themselves miserably deceived.

CONTINUATION of MEMORABLE EVENTS.

The English Army obliged to capitulate. The
Affair of Rosbach. Revolutions.

THE French ministry had dispatched marshal Richelieu to take the command of the army from d'Estrées, before it was acquainted with the important victory that general had gained. Marshal Richelieu, remarkable for the charms

charms of his person and understanding, and famous by the defence of Genoa and the taking of Minorca, marched to give the duke of Cumberland battle, whom he obliged to retreat before him as far as the mouth of the Elbe, where he compelled him to capitulate with his whole army. This capitulation was more singular and glorious than the most complete victory would have been. By the articles of the convention, the duke of Cumberland obliged himself to retire beyond the Elbe, and to leave the country open to the operations of the French against the king of Prussia.

The ruin of that monarch now seemed inevitable. The severe defeat he had met with before Prague, and another where his troops had suffered near Landshut on the confines of Silesia, and lately a battle, which he had hazarded with the Russians, and in which neither side had the victory, had weakened him almost beyond a possibility of recovery.

He was in danger of being hemmed in on one side by the army under marshal Richelieu, and by that of the empire on the other, while the Austrians and Russians were marching into the heart of Silesia. His destruction now seemed so certain, that the aulic council no longer kept any measures, but openly declared him to have incurred the ban of the empire, and to have forfeited all his fiefs, rights, privileges, immunities, &c. Nay, he himself seemed to think his situation altogether desperate, and that nothing was left him but a glorious death. On this occasion, he made a kind of a philosophical testament; and so little was his mind affected with this series of misfortunes, that he wrote it in

French verse. I am persuaded this anecdote is altogether new, and singular in its kind.

The prince of Soubise, a general of intrepid courage, great prudence, and regularity of conduct, marched to give him battle in Saxony, at the head of a strong army, which the ministry had further reinforced by a part of that under marshal Richelieu. This army was joined by that of the circles, commanded by the prince of Hildebourghausen.

Frederick, thus surrounded on all sides by enemies, advanced with a resolution to sell his life dear, and perish in the midst of Soubise's ranks, at the same time that he took all the necessary precautions to gain the victory. He went to reconnoitre the joint armies, and then made a retreat, in order to secure an advantageous position for his own. The prince of Hildebourghausen was for attacking him without delay. This resolution was necessarily followed by the French, who acted only as auxiliaries; and they advanced into the neighbourhood of Rosbach and Marlbouurg, and marched towards the Prussians, who were concealed under their tents, when on a sudden, the tents are struck, and the whole Prussian army is seen advancing in order of battle between two hills lined with artillery.

At this unexpected fight the French and imperial troops were struck with astonishment. The French soldiery had for some years been taught the Prussian exercise, which had been afterwards altered in several of its evolutions, so that the men no longer knew what they were at, their former way of fighting was a hazard, and they were not sufficiently masters of the
new.

GENERAL HISTORY. 179

new method. When they saw the Prussians advancing towards them in this extraordinary disposition, which was utterly unknown to all other nations, they thought they beheld their masters. The Prussian artillery was likewise much better served than that of the combined army. The imperial troops gave way almost at the first onset. The French cavalry was broke by the Prussian cannon; a general panic prevailed; the whole body of French infantry retreated before six battalions of the enemy: in short, it could not be called a battle, but a powerful army that presented itself in a posture to fight, and then ran away. The event of next day is unparalleled in history, only two regiments of Swiss remain on the field of battle. The prince of Soubise rode up to those, and putting himself at their head, made them file off by slow degrees. This extraordinary day's work once more changed the face of affairs.

At this very time fresh disasters beset the army under marshal Richelieu, which had been greatly weakened by the draughts the ministry had made from it. The court of France refused to ratify the convention which the marshal had obliged the duke of Cumberland to subscribe. The English court therefore thought themselves (not without justice) released from their engagements. The ratification, afterwards signed at Versailles, did not arrive till five days after the misfortune at Rosbach, and the English in a short time retook the whole electorate of Hanover.

Extraordinary and unprecedented as was the affair of Rosbach, it was not more so than what

was done by the king of Prussia after that unexpected victory. He hastened into Silesia, where his troops had been beaten by the Austrians; who had made themselves masters of Schweidnitz and Breslau. But for this great diligence of his, Silesia had been wholly lost, and the battle of Rosbach would have been of no advantage to him.

In about a month's time he came up with the Austrian army, which he immediately attacked with the greatest fury. The engagement lasted upwards of five hours, when victory declared wholly in favour of Frederick, who immediately took possession of Schweidnitz and Breslau. After this there followed a continual vicissitude of battles, lost and won. The French were, for the most part, always unfortunate; but their court was not in the least discouraged: on the contrary, it exerted itself to the utmost to send fresh supplies of troops into Germany.

The king of Prussia, on his side, was weakened by the numerous battles he fought; inasmuch, that the Russians took from him the whole kingdom of Prussia, and laid waste all Pomerania, while he was ravaging Saxony. The Austrians and Russians successively enter Berlin. Almost all the treasure his father and himself had amassed was necessarily spent in this war, alike ruinous to all parties; and he was obliged to have recourse to the English for subsidies. The Austrians, French, and Russians, without being discouraged by their bad successes, followed him wherever he went. His family dared not to remain in Berlin, which was continually exposed to the insults of the enemy: and as to himself, after a series of fortunate

GENERAL HISTORY. 181

fortunate events, he was in 1762, intrenched under the cannon of Breslau. Maria Theresa seemed on the eve of recovering all Silesia; Frederick had lost Dresden, and all that part of Saxony which borders upon Bohemia; the king of Poland flattered himself with the hopes of recovering his hereditary dominions, when the death of Elizabeth, empress of Russia, gave a new turn to the face of affairs, which had already undergone so many changes.

The new emperor, Peter III. had for a considerable time been secretly a friend to the king of Prussia. He now not only made peace with him the instant he came to the throne; but became his ally against the empress-queen, whom his predecessor Elizabeth had so warmly and constantly befriended. Thus, by a sudden change, the king of Prussia, who had been so hardly pressed by the Austrian and Russian forces in concert, now prepared to enter Bohemia with the assistance of those very Russians who had fought against him but a few weeks before.

But this new state of affairs was again overturned almost as soon as formed, by a sudden revolution in those of Russia.

The new czar wanted to repudiate his wife, which stirred up the whole nation against him, whose affections he ought to have endeavoured to gain. His wife obviated the design against her, the army and the people declared in her favour, and Peter III. was confined in prison; where he died, in a few days after, of a violent fit of the colic, to which he was subject.

The king of Prussia, though left to himself, resolved to continue the war. But what would have been the consequence of this chaos of events?

vents? The spilling of a prodigious quantity of blood; the raising numerous armies, which would have done much more mischiefs than great exploits; the exhausting whole nations for quarrels with which they had nothing to do; the destruction and plundering of numberless towns; and, lastly, the ruining the finances of those princes who had a share in the war.

And what are become of the prodigious sums that have been lavished in this bloody contention? Why, they are hidden in the coffers of two or three hundred private persons, who acted as pay-masters and commissaries to the respective armies; the contractors and bankers of Frankfort, Hamburg, Dantzick, and Holland, have made immense fortunes; and the Germans are better foldiers and richer tradesmen than they ever were before. Those disasters, which made every one tremble, will speedily be forgotten, and lost in the croud of general events, or swallowed up in a succession of new changes.

The ENGLISH VICTORIOUS in the Four Quarters of the WORLD.

WHEN marshal Richelieu, in 1756, laid siege to Port Mahon, the capital of the island of Minorca, the English sent out admiral Byng, with a strong naval force, to drive the French fleet off the island, and raise the siege.

The English, who looked upon themselves as masters of the sea, were incensed at admiral Byng for not having beaten the French fleet: they accused him with having kept at too great

GENERAL HISTORY. 183

a distance from the French admiral: he was tried for his life by a council of war, called in that country a *court-martial*, who condemned him to be shot. The sentence was unanimously confirmed by the king and council. Never, perhaps, was there an instance of a more severe sentence.

At this time there appeared a book, intituled, "An Estimate of the Manners of the Times," of which there were no less than five editions printed off in London in the space of three months. In this treatise, the author proves, that the English nation was entirely degenerated; that the more extensive its trade, the nearer it was to its ruin; that it was wrong to make use of the riches it possessed; that its inhabitants were no longer so robust and hardy as in former times; that its soldiers had lost their courage; and that this was owing to the great number of philosophers, who were so wicked and senseless as to acknowledge only one God, and to be neither Church of England-men, Presbyterians, Quakers, Memnonists, nor Anabaptists. We often meet with writings of this kind in France, of which no one takes any notice: but this roused the sensibility of the English nation, and produced the following consequences.

They attacked, almost at one and the same time, all the sea-coasts of France, and her possessions in Asia, Africa, and America.

The first conquest they made was of Chandanagore, an important post the French possessed at the entry of the Ganges in the East Indies. This was the great warehouse for all the curious.

ous merchandizes we have out of the mogul's country.

The English and French East-India companies, as has already been observed, had for a considerable time carried on their trade in that part of the world sword in hand, and had engaged in their quarrels the nabobs or rajas of the country, who are kind of viceroys, or rather petty kings, sometimes independent, and at others subject to the great mogul, according to the greater or less abilities of that emperor; that is, as he was more or less powerful.

After taking the town and fort of Chandernagore, the English continued without intermission to ruin the French trade in India. The mogul government was so bad and weak, that it could not prevent the European traders from forming alliances, and making war upon each other, even in the heart of the empire. The English in particular had the boldness to attack Surat, one of the finest and largest trading cities in India, and which belonged to the emperor, which they took and plundered, destroying all the French warehouses, and carrying off an immense booty; an act for which every Englishman ought to have been driven out of the country; but such was the inability of the weak, though splendid court of the great mogul, that it did not even dare to take any notice of this flagrant outrage*.

* This is only one instance of many, in the course of this work, in which Mr. de Voltaire has evidently departed from the impartiality of an historian, to indulge a national bias.

At length, after having forcibly taken almost all the ships belonging to the French East India company, they laid siege to Pondicherry, which was not defended as in the time of its governor M. Dupleix ; but surrendered at discretion : so that the French had nothing then left in that part of the world, but the regret of having expended immense sums, during the space of forty years, to support a company that had never been of the least advantage to the state, had not even made a single dividend to the proprietors, or creditors, out of the produce of its trade ; that had subsisted altogether by underhand dealings, and had been supported only by a part of the farm upon tobacco, which had been granted to it by the king : a memorable, though perhaps useless, example of the little knowledge the French have hitherto had of the extensive and ruinous trade to India.

While the English were thus ruining the French, both by sea and land, in the East, they likewise drove them out of the West-Indies. The French were in possession of the river of Senegal, one of the branches of the Niger, where they had several forts, and carried on a considerable trade in elephants teeth, gold dust, and negroes, which latter were sold by their princes like beasts of burden, and who sometimes sell their own children, or even themselves, for slaves to the Europeans, who carry them over to America. The English took all the forts the French had built in these countries, together with all the valuable commodities they were possessed of, to the value of three millions of livres.

The

The last settlement the French had now left in this part of Africa, was Goree, which soon after surrendered at discretion ; and France was now stripped of all her possessions in that part of the world.

But her losses in America were still greater. Without entering into a detail of the several engagements between the two nations, and the taking of all our forts one after another, let it suffice to say, that the English made themselves masters of Louisburgh for the second time ; that place being as ill fortified, and badly provided, as it had been the first. In short, the English, almost at the same time, took Surat, at the mouth of the river Indus, and made themselves masters of Quebec, and all Canada, at the extremity of North America, the French troops, who had run the risk of an engagement in order to save Quebec, having been defeated, and almost all cut in pieces.

At the same time, likewise, that the English were thus vigorously attacking the French on the continent of America, they cast their eyes upon the islands belonging to that crown ; and Guadaloupe, a small but flourishing settlement, where the best sugars are made, fell into their hands almost without striking a blow.

They afterwards took Martinico, which was the best and richest of all the French colonies.

France could never have met with such a series of misfortunes, had she not lost almost all the ships she sent out to prevent them ; no sooner did a fleet put to sea, but it was either taken or destroyed ; new ships were put upon the stocks, or fitted out to repair the former
loss :

loss: but this was only working for the English, into whose hands they were certain of falling, almost as soon as they had left their harbours.

When the government, in order to revenge itself for so many losses, meditated a descent upon Ireland; this project, after costing immense sums, proved abortive; for no sooner had the fleet designed to make this descent, left the port of Brest, than the ships, of which it consisted, were all of them dispersed or taken by the enemy, or lost in the mouth of a little river called the Villaine, whither they had run in vain for shelter. The English after this took the island of Belleisle in sight of the French coast, from whence no succours could be sent to its assistance.

Never had the English so great a superiority by sea, though they have always been masters over the French in that element. They ruined the French navy in the year 1741, and utterly destroyed that of Lewis XIV. in the war for the Spanish succession. They were masters of the sea in the reign of Lewis XIII. and Henry IV. and still more so in the unfortunate times of the league. Henry VIII. of England had the same advantage over Francis I.

If you look back to former times, you will find that the fleets of Charles VI. and Philip of Valois could never make head against those of Henry V. and Edward III.

But what can be the reason of this continual superiority? Is it not that the sea is the essential element of the English; whereas the French can upon occasion do without it, and that every nation (as we have elsewhere observed) always succeeds best in those things of which it stands
ab-

absolutely in need? May it not arise from the capital of England being a sea-port, whereas Paris, the metropolis of France, sees only a few boats passing upon the Seine? Or, lastly, may not the English climate and soil produce men of a more vigorous and robust habit of body, and minds more fitted to labours and fatigues, than that of France, in the same manner as it produces dogs and horses more proper for the chase? But then, on the other hand, we know that the inhabitants of all that part of the coast of France, from Bourdeaux to Picardy and Flanders, are capable of undergoing the hardest labours; and the province of Normandy alone has heretofore conquered all England.

Affairs were in this deplorable situation both by sea and land, when there arose a person of an active and enterprizing genius, who undertook to retrieve all. He was sensible that France was not able, by her own strength alone, to repair the losses she had sustained. He therefore engaged the court of Spain to espouse her quarrel: he united all the branches of the house of Bourbon in one common cause; and made the interests of Spain, Austria, and France, the same. Portugal was in fact a kind of province to England, who drew from thence near five millions yearly: it was therefore thought advisable to strike the first blow here; and don Carlos, lately become king of Spain, by the death of his brother, determined to invade the Portuguese territories. This was, perhaps, one of the greatest strokes in politics that is to be met with in history.

THE
INTERIOR GOVERNMENT
OF
FRANCE.

Disputes and Encounters, from the Year 1750
to the Year 1762.

A Considerable time before the breaking out of this war, as also during its course, the interior government of France had been disturbed by the old and inextinguishable dispute between the secular and ecclesiastical Jurisdictions, as the limits of neither have not as yet been properly ascertained, as is the case in England, and many other countries, particularly in Russia: this will prove the source of dangerous dissensions, so long as the rights of the crown, and those of the different orders of the state, remain in dispute.

In the year 1750 we had a minister of the finances, who had the courage to order the clergy and religious orders, to deliver in a state of their effects, in order that the king might see from their revenues what they owed to the government. Nothing could be more just and equitable than this proposal; but it was attended with consequences that had the appearance of sacrilege. The old bishop of Marseilles wrote

wrote to the comptroller-general as follows:
“Do not put yourself under the necessity of disobeying either God or the king; you cannot but know to whom you owe the preference.”

This letter, sent in the name of a superannuated prelate, who could not write, was, in reality, the work of a Jesuit, named *le Maire*, who had the direction of the conscience of him and his household, and was a fanatic from principle, which are ever the most dangerous kind of people.

The minister then was obliged to drop his design, which he ought not to have undertaken, unless he could have gone through with it. Some of the clergy took advantage of this, and endeavoured to cut out work for the government by sounding the alarm upon spiritual matters, hoping that the general confusion would prevent any attack being made upon their temporals. They knew that the bull *Unigenitus* was held in abhorrence by the common people; they accordingly resolved to oblige all dying persons to give a certificate or billet of confession, which billets were to be signed by those priests who were sticklers for the bull, without which there could be no extreme unction, nor administration of the sacrament in the last moments; and these two comforts were refused without pity to all those who were appellants (that is, who objected to the bull) or who confessed themselves to appellants. The archbishop of Paris joined in this scheme more through a dogmatical zeal than the spirit of cabal.

And now every family was alarmed, all schism was renounced, those who were called Jansenists began to declare openly, that if it was

GENERAL HISTORY. 191

so difficult to obtain the sacraments, people would very soon learn to do without them, as well as they did in so many other countries.

The curate of St. Stephen du Mont, a little parish in Paris, having refused the sacrament to a counsellor of the Chatelet, the parliament threw the curate into prison.

The king, observing these beginnings of a little civil war between his parliament and the clergy, forbade his courts of judicature to concern themselves in matters relating to the sacraments, reserving the cognizance thereof for his privy council. The parliaments complained that this order took from them the exercise of the general police of the kingdom, and the clergy could not with patience suffer that the royal authority should pretend to decide in religious controversies.

Matters began now to grow warm on all sides, when the place of superior to an hospital for young women falling vacant, and the archbishop of Paris pretending that he had the sole right of nomination, the flames of discord began to break out with fury.

The parliament opposed the archbishop's pretensions; and the king having given it in his favour, the parliament desisted from its functions, and refused to administer justice. The king found himself under the necessity of sending his musqueteers with letters de cachet to all the members of that court, commanding them to resume their functions, on pain of being punished for disobedience.

Upon this the chambers continued to sit as usual, but when any causes came to be tried, there was no advocate found to plead. This

resembled in some manner the times of the league, but without the horrors of civil war. It was rather a matter of folly and ridicule.

This folly, however, was perplexing. The king determined to extinguish by moderation these sparks which might have lighted up a dangerous flame, and to this end exhorted the clergy not to make use of unwarrantable severities. The parliament likewise resumed all its functions.

But it was not long before the billets of confession made their appearance again, and some fresh refusals of the sacraments set all Paris a murmuring. The curate of St. Stephen's before mentioned being found guilty of a second prevarication, was sent for before the parliament, who prohibited him, and all other curates from giving the like cause of scandal for the future, under pain of forfeiting their temporalities. By the same arret the archbishop of Paris was invited to exert his authority in putting an end to this cause of complaint. The term *invited* seemed to agree with the plan of moderation adopted by the king. But the archbishop, not bearing that a secular court of justice should even pretend to the right of inviting him to do any thing, went to complain of it at Versailles. He was encouraged in this step by the old bishop of Mirepoix, named Boyer, who was appointed by the ministry to present proper persons for having church-livings to the king. This man had formerly been a Theatine, was afterwards made a bishop, and then became a minister; he was a person of very narrow conceptions, but a zealous stickler for the rights of the clergy. He looked upon the bull as an article of faith, and making use of all the influence which

which his place gave him, he persuaded the court that the parliament had made an attack upon the priveleges of the church; upon which their arret was annulled. On this occasion that body made some very strong and pathetic remonstrances,

The king very prudently ordered them to confine themselves to giving him an account of all the informations they should receive on these subjects, reserving to himself the right of punishing those priests whose offensive zeal might sow the seeds of schism among his subjects. He likewise forbade, by an arret of his council of state, any one to give another the name of Innovator, Jansenist, or Semipelagian. This was ordering madmen to be wise.

The curates of Paris, at the instigation of the archbishop, presented a petition to the king in favour of the billets of confession. Immediately upon this the parliament suspended the curate of St. Jean en Grève, who had drawn up the petition. The king again annuls their proceedings, and the parliament again desists from its functions, and persists in the remonstrances; the king on his side continues to exhort both parties to peace. But it was all labour in vain.

The parliament ordered a letter of the bishop of Marseilles, which had been laid before them, to be burnt by the hands of the common executioner, and condemned a book wrote by the bishop of Amiens. The assembly of the clergy, who sat at that time in Paris, as they do every five years, to pay their subsidies to the king, came to a resolution to wait upon him with their complaints, dressed in their canonicals;

K

but

but the king would not permit this extraordinary ceremony.

The parliament, on the other hand, condemned one of the porters who carry the host, to make the *amende*, to ask pardon on his knees, and to receive a reprimand; and a vicar of a parish to be banished. The king annulled this arret also.

These kind of proceedings became every day more common; the king still recommended peace, the bishops still continued to refuse the sacraments, and the parliament to condemn their proceedings.

At length, the king gave the parliament permission to give sentence in the affair of the sacraments, in case any cause of that kind should be brought before it; but he, at the same time, forbade it to seek out for such causes. The parliament then resumed its functions a second time, and the several parties, whose law-suits had been neglected for these affairs, were again at liberty to ruin themselves as usual.

Nevertheless, the flame was not so entirely quenched but that it continued to smother in private. The archbishop had given orders to refuse the sacraments to a couple of poor old nuns of St. Agatha, who having formerly heard their confessor say that the bull *unigenitus* was the work of the devil, were afraid of being damned if they subscribed to this bull on their death-bed, and were also afraid of being damned if they should die without receiving extreme unction. The parliament thereupon sent their register to the archbishop, to desire him not to refuse these two women the usual comforts. The archbishop answered in his usual manner,
that

GENERAL HISTORY. 195

that he was accountable for his conduct to God only ; in consequence of which answer the parliament seized upon his temporalities, and invited the princes of the blood and the peers to come and take their seats in the house.

The dispute had now the appearance of becoming serious, and people began to fear a renewal of the times of the league. The king forbade the princes and peers to go and vote in the parliament of Paris on matters which he had reserved for the cognizance of his privy council. The archbishop had also interest enough to get the little community of St. Agatha dissolved, for entertaining so bad an opinion of the bull *unigenitus*.

All Paris murmured at these proceedings, which affected the peace of several other parts of the kingdom, in particular the city of Orleans, which was in confusion on account of the refusal of the sacraments: the parliament gave the same decrees in regard to that city as to Paris, and schism was advancing with large strides. A curate in the diocese of Amiens took it in his head one Sunday, in the middle of his sermon, to desire all those of his congregation, “ who were Jansenists to leave the church, “ and that he should be the first who would “ wash his hands in their blood.” He had even the audaciousness to mention some of his parishioners by name, who were thereupon pelted with stones by some of the most zealous constitutionists, as they came out of church, though it is very certain that neither the one nor the other knew any thing at all of what the bull or jansenism meant.

An outrage of this kind was punishable with death. The parliament of Paris, in whose jurisdiction Amiens is, contented itself with sentencing the factious and blood-thirsty priest to perpetual banishment ; and the king approved of the sentence, as it did not relate to a crime merely spiritual, but to the illegal act of a seditious and turbulent person, and a disturber of the public peace.

During these commotions Lewis XV. acted like a father who endeavours to part his children when fighting with each other. He forbade all manner of insult or abuse ; he reprimanded some, and exhorted others : he enjoined silence, forbade the parliament from passing sentence on spiritual matters, and recommended to the bishops to use circumspection in regard to the bull, which he looked upon as a law of the church, but would not have this dangerous law made the subject of contest. But all this paternal care proved of little effect on minds heated with opposition and fears. The parliaments pretended that they could not separate the *spiritual* from the *civil*, seeing that *spiritual* disputes necessarily introduced with them disputes of state.

It summoned the bishop of Orleans to appear for having refused the sacraments. It ordered all the books and papers, which had disputed its jurisdiction, to be burnt by the hands of the hangman, excepting only the king's declarations. It sent some of its counselors to have its decrees registered at the Sorbonne, and concluded with desisting a third time from the exercise of its functions, of trying causes between individuals, in order to
give

give its attention wholly to the affair of the sacraments.

The king, on his side, sent a third time his letter of jussion, commanding them to proceed to the exercise of their duty, and no longer to make his subjects suffer in their private concerns for these general disputes; observing, that the law-suits of individuals had nothing to do with the bull *unigenitus*.

The parliament returned for answer, that they could not acknowledge the king's letters patent, without violating the oath they had taken; neither could they *obtemperate*. When they came to enquire at Versailles into the meaning of this word, it was, to the surprize of every one, found to mean *obey*.

The king then was obliged to order all the members of the court of Inquests (*Enquêtes*) into banishment; some were sent to Bourges, others to Poitiers, and others to Auvergne; and three of the most violent were imprisoned.

The great chamber was spared, but its members thought their honour concerned not to accept of this indulgence; and therefore persisted in not hearing causes, and continued their proceedings against the curates. The king upon this banished them to Pontoise, a village about six leagues distance from Paris; whither the duke of Orleans had before sent them during his regency.

The parliament of Normandy followed the example of that of Paris, in relation to the sacraments. It summoned the bishop of Evreux to appear and to desist from his functions. The king sent an officer of his guards to cancel the

registers of this parliament, which at length became more tractable than that of Paris.

The stop put to distributive justice in the capital, would have been productive of great happiness to mankind, had they been either wise or just; but as they are neither, and that there is a necessity for law, the king commissioned certain members of his council of state, to sit and terminate the several causes depending *en dernier ressort*; the court endeavoured to get the erection of this new Chamber registered in the Chatelet, as if the authority of an inferior court of justice was necessary to establish that of the sovereign. This custom of registering had always had its inconveniences; but the omission of this ceremony would have been attended with others still greater. The Chatelet refused to register, till forced to it by letters of jussion. The Royal Chamber then began to sit; but the advocates would not plead, and this court was the jest of all Paris, and, indeed, of itself; agreeable to the known disposition of the French, who laugh the next day, at what filled them with dread the day before. The clergy, likewise, joined in the laugh, but it was for having got the victory,

Boyer, the old bishop of Mirepoix, who, without knowing it, had been the original cause of these disturbances, being now grown childish, and worn out with age, every thing seemed to promise fair for a reconciliation. The ministry entered into an amicable discussion of matters with the parliament; that body was recalled, to the general satisfaction of the whole city, who received them at their return with all possible demonstrations of joy, the populace shouting as they

they passed, *Vive le parlement*; so that they returned in perfect triumph. The king, wearied out with the obstinate inflexibility of the clergy, and of the parliament, enjoined peace and silence, and permitted the secular judges to proceed against all such who should be found troubling the public peace.

Notwithstanding these salutary precautions, the spirit of schism broke out from time to time in Paris, and the provinces; and several bishops, in spite of the king's orders in regard to the sacrament, strove to make a merit with the court of Rome, by refusing them. The bishop of Nantes, in particular, having set this example of disobedience and offensive rigour in his city, was, by the simple president-court at Nantes, condemned in a fine of 6000 franks, which he was obliged to pay; nor did the king interfere, being heartily tired of these disputes.

Numberless scenes of this kind happened throughout the kingdom, which, though they might be melancholy for those interested in them, were, in general, matters of amusement to the idle multitude. At Orleans, an old Jansenist canon, being upon his death-bed, his brethren refused to give him the sacraments, for which the parliament of Paris fined them twelve thousand livres; and ordered that the sacrament should be given to the sick man. In consequence of this order, the lieutenant-criminal disposed every thing for this ceremony, as if it had been for an execution; in the mean time, the canons managed matters so well, that their brother died without having the sacrament, and they buried him as privately as possible.

Nothing was more common at this time than receiving the sacrament by act of parliament. The king, who had banished the judges for refusing to *obtemperate*, was willing to hold the balance even, by banishing, in their turns, the clergy, for persisting in their schism. He accordingly began with the archbishop of Paris, whom he ordered to retire to his house at Conflans, three leagues distant from the city : a very candid sentence, and that had more the air of a fatherly admonition than a punishment.

The bishops of Orleans and Troyes were, by the like mild sentence, banished to their country-houses. The archbishop of Paris being found as inflexible in his country-house, as in his episcopal residence, was banished to a farther distance from the capital.

The parliament, who now found itself at liberty to act, reprimanded the Sorbonne, who, though it formerly held the bull in detestation, now looked upon it as an article of faith. This latter threatened to desist from giving lessons ; and the parliament, who had itself desisted from more important functions, ordered the faculty to continue theirs ; in so doing it maintained the rights of the Gallican church. The king approved of this proceeding, but when it would go further, he put a stop to it ; and while he confirmed such of its decrees which tended to the public good, he annulled others in which he thought he saw want of proper circumspection.

Thus was this monarch continually in the midst of two powerful and incensed parties, like the Roman emperors between the white and green factions : his attention was also engaged by the hostilities which the English had begun

begun against him at sea ; and a land war seemed unavoidable. This was therefore no time to dispute about bulls.

He was likewise under the necessity of quieting the contests between the great council and his parliaments ; for as there are few or no positive laws in France to determine any particular point : as the rights and privileges of the several orders, are unsettled ; and that of the clergy have always endeavoured to extend its jurisdiction : as the Chambers of accounts have disputed many of the privileges of the parliaments, and the peers have frequently pleaded theirs against the parliament of Paris ; it is not to be wondered that the great councils should have disputes with that body likewise.

This great council was originally the council of the kings of France, and accompanied them wherever they went ; but, as everything has changed by degrees in the public administration, the great council underwent a change also. In the reign of Charles VIII. it was only a court of judicature : it now determines concerning appeals, the qualifications of judges, and all causes relating to benefices within the kingdom, excepting those of the *Regale*. It has also the privilege of judging its own officers.

A counsellor of this court having been brought before the Chatelet for an affair of debt, the great council called the cause before them, and annulled the sentence of the Chatelet. Upon this the parliament takes the alarm, and annuls the decree of the great council, and the king sets aside the arret of the parliament. This occasions such remonstrances and disputes, that all the parliaments attack the great council, and

the public take different sides. The parliament of Paris again invites the peers to be present at this dispute between the two bodies; and the king again forbids them *to associate*: this affair remains like many others, undecided.

The king, in the mean time, was occupied with matters of greater importance. He had a burthensome war to carry on against the English, both by sea and land. At the same time, he laid that memorable foundation of a military school, which forms the noblest monument of his reign; and which the empress-queen has since imitated. He wanted supplies to carry on all those operations, and the parliament was very backward in registering the edicts for levying two *vingtiemes*; though they have since been obliged to grant three, for in time of war, the subjects must either fight, or pay those who do: there is no alternative.

The king held a bed of justice at Versailles, to which he summoned the princes of the blood, and peers, together with the parliament of Paris, and here he caused his edicts to be registered; but, as soon as the parliament returned to Paris, it protested against this registering, pretending, that not only it had not been permitted the necessary liberty of enquiry, but also that this edict required such modifications, as might not be injurious to the interest of the king, nor those of the state, which were one and the same, and which by its oath it was bound to defend: adding furthermore, that its duty was not to please, but to serve. Thus zeal was at variance with obedience.

The old leaven of schism was mixed with this important affair of the taxes. A counsellor of
the

the parliament being taken ill at his country-seat, in the diocese of Meaux, desired to have the sacraments administered to him; but was refused by a curate as being an enemy to the church, and he died without having this ceremony performed: upon this the curate was proceeded against, who made his escape.

The archbishop of Aix had made a new formula on the bull, for which the parliament of Aix sentenced him to pay a fine of ten thousand livres to the poor, with which he was obliged to comply, and so got clear, with the loss of his formula and his money. The bishop of Troyes having raised some disturbances in his diocese, the king sent him into confinement among the monks of Alsace. The archbishop of Paris, who had been permitted to return to his house at Conflans, declared all such persons excommunicated who should read the arrears and remonstrances of the parliaments, concerning the bull and billets of confession.

Lewis XV. whom these variances greatly perplexed, carried his circumspection so far as to send to pope Benedict XIV. (*Lambertini*) for his advice; a person of as moderate disposition as himself, beloved by all Christendom for his mild and pleasing carriage, and whose loss we at present more and more regret. He never interfered in any affair but with a view to make peace. His secretary of the briefs, cardinal Passionei, managed every thing. The cardinal, who was the only one in the sacred college at that time who was a man of letters, had too exalted an understanding not to despise all these disputes; he hated the jesuits for having drawn up this bull, and could not keep himself from blaming
K 6 the

the ill advised conduct of the court of Rome, in condemning, by his bull, maxims in themselves virtuous, unalterably true, and suitable to all times, and every nation; such, for instance, as the following: "The fear of excommunication ought not to prevent any one from acting agreeable to his duty." A maxim that is the support and defence of virtue throughout the world. Both antients and moderns have, in all times agreed, that our duty ought to prevail over the fear of punishment.

But strange as this bull might appear in more than one article, neither cardinal Passionei, nor the pope, could repeal a constitution which was looked upon as a law of the church. Benedict XIV. therefore, sent the king a circular letter for all the bishops of France, in which he does, indeed, consider this bull as an universal law, which is not to be opposed, "without endangering our eternal happiness;" but then he concludes with this decision, that, "in order to avoid scandal, the priest should acquaint some dying persons who are suspected of being Janseists, that they will be damned, and then administer the sacrament to them at their own risk and peril."

The same pontiff, in his private letter to the king, recommended the episcopal rights to his protection. Whoever consults a pope in any age must expect that he will answer as a pope ought to do.

But Benedict XIV. at the same time that he observed every thing that was due to his station, was not wanting in what he owed to peace, good order, and the authority of the prince. The pope's brief to the bishops was printed, when the parlia-

parliament had the courage, or if you will, the temerity, to publish an arret, condemning it, and ordering it to be suppressed. This step was the more offensive to the king, as he himself had sent this brief to the bishops, in which there was nothing that concerned either the liberties of the Gallican church, or the rights of the sovereign, of which the parliament have, in all times, been the protectors and avengers; so that the present censure passed by that body seemed to favour more of ill humour than moderation.

The council now thought it had found a new reason to condemn the conduct of the parliament of Paris: several other superior courts, who have the names of parliaments, were called, *Classes of the parliament of the kingdom*; a title which had been given them by the chancellor de l'Hopital, and signified no more than the union of the several parliaments in the knowledge and maintaining of the laws. The parliament did not pretend to represent the whole state, as divided into different companies, which, altogether, making one body, constituted the general states of the kingdom; this would indeed have been a grand idea, but it would have been too much so, and might have proved offensive to the royal authority.

These considerations, joined to the difficulties made in regard to the registering the money-edicts, determined the king to hold a bed of justice, and there make an alteration in the parliament of Paris.

However private the ministry kept this design, it got wind; and, when the king came to Paris, he was received with a mournful silence. The common people consider the parliament merely as the opposer of taxes, without ever examining whe-

whether these taxes are necessary, or once reflecting, that the several commodities in which they deal, sell at a higher price in proportion to those taxes; and that the burthens at length falls on the rich. These latter again complain in their turn, and, by their murmurings, encourage those of the populace.

The English have been more burthened than the French in this war; but in England the nation taxes itself, and knows what fund is established for the payment of the sums raised. On the contrary, the French are taxed without ever knowing on what the funds destined for such payment are to be assigned. In England there are no private persons who contract with the government for furnishing the sums to be raised by the taxes, and who enrich themselves at the expence of the nation, which is the case in France. The French parliaments have made repeated remonstrances to their kings against this abuse; but there are certain times in which those remonstrances, and the difficulties about registering, are more dangerous than even the taxes, by reason that the exigencies of war demand instant supplies; whereas the abuse of these supplies is not to be amended but with time.

The king then came to the parliament, and caused an edict to be read, by which he suppressed two chambers of that body, and several officers. He ordered due respect to be paid to the Bull Unigenitus, forbade the secular judges to prescribe the administering the sacraments, leaving them at liberty only to take cognizance of the abuses or crimes committed under such administration. He enjoined the curates to observe

serve moderation and discretion, and desired that all past disputes *might be buried in oblivion.*

He ordered that no counsellor should be admitted to consultation under the age of twenty-five, and that no person should be entitled to vote in the assembly of the chambers, till he had served ten years; and he concluded with laying the most strict injunctions that no one should, *on any pretext whatsoever, interrupt the customary business of the court.*

The chancellor, for form's sake, demanded the opinions of the members, but every one kept profound silence. The king said he would be obeyed, and that he would *severely punish any one who should depart from his duty.*

The next day, fifteen counsellors of the great chamber resigned their office in court: an hundred and twenty members of the parliament followed their example soon afterwards. Upon this, there was an universal murmuring throughout the city; but these commotions were soon swallowed up in a general consternation, occasioned by an unexpected and shocking accident. The king was stabbed on the 5th of January, in his own court, at Versailles, in presence of his son, and surrounded by his guards and all the great officers of the crown. This extraordinary affair happened in the manner following.

A wretch, of the dregs of the people, named Robert Francis Damiens, born in a little village, in the neighbourhood of Arras, had lived a considerable time as a servant in several houses in Paris: this man was of a passionate and gloomy disposition, approaching to a degree of madness.

The general murmurings which he had heard in public places, and in the great hall of the
parlia-

parliament-house, had heated his indignation. He set out for Versailles, like a man who knew not whither he was going ; and in the agitations of mind which must necessarily have attended the horrible design he had conceived, he desired, while at the public-house where he lodged, that a surgeon might be sent for to bleed him. Physical prepossessions have so great an influence upon the human mind, that this man said, upon his examination, that “ had he been bled when “ he desired it, he was convinced he should not “ have committed this horrible crime.”

The design he had formed was the most extraordinary that had ever entered into the head of any monster of this kind. He had no intention to kill the king, as he himself absolutely declared after he was apprehended, (and which indeed he had but too fair an opportunity to do) but only designed to wound him, as appears by the followed declaration, which he made before the parliament, at the time of his trial.

“ I had no intention to kill the king, which I
“ might have done, had I been so inclined: I
“ only did it, that God might touch the king’s
“ heart, and work on him, to restore things to
“ their former footing, and give peace to his
“ kingdom. The archbishop of Paris is the
“ sole cause of all these troubles.”

This notion had got such a thorough possession of his mind, that, in another of his answers, he says ;

“ I mentioned the names of some counsellors
“ of the parliament, because I was formerly
“ servant to one ; and that they are almost all
“ to a man furiously incensed against the arch-
“ bishop.”

In

In short, this unhappy wretch was so lost in fanaticism, that, in the examination he underwent at Versailles, we find the following passage.

“ Being interrogated what motives had induced him to make an attempt upon the person of his sovereign, he replied, *It was for religion's sake.*”

All those who have attempted the lives of christian princes have made use of this pretext. The king of Portugal had not been assaulted, but for the decision of three jesuits. It is sufficiently known, that Henry III. and IV. of France fell by the hands of fanatics ; but there was this difference between them and Lewis XV. that they were murdered, because they appeared to be enemies to the pope, and he was stabbed for having seemed desirous to oblige the pope.

The assassin had provided himself with a clasp knife, one side of which had a long sharp-pointed blade ; the other was to cut pens with, and was about four inches long. He waited for the instant the king was to get into the coach to go to Trianon. It was near six o'clock in the evening, the day-light was shut in, the weather was excessively cold ; so that almost all the court were wrapped up in a large cloaks, called *redingotes*. The villain, who wore one of the same, pushes through the guards, brushes the dauphin as he passes by him, gets in between the body-guard and the king, strikes him with his pen-knife under the fifth rib, returns his knife into his pocket again, and remains in his place with his hat upon his head. The king, finding himself wounded, turns about his head, and seeing a strange man standing close by him, with his hat on, and his eyes staring wild cries out,
“ That

“ That is the person who has wounded me ; se-
 “ cure him ; but let no one do him any hurt.”

While every body was in amazement and horror, and they were carrying the king to his bed, and sending for the surgeons to examine if the wound was mortal, or the weapon had been poisoned, the assassin cried out several times, “ Look to the dauphin ! do not suffer him to
 “ stir abroad all day.”

Upon this, the general terror is redoubled ; no one doubts but that there is a plot formed to cut off the royal family, and that the most bloody and premeditated horrors are about to ensue.

Happily the king's wound was but slight ; but the apprehensions of the public were far from being so ; and the whole court was filled with fear, distrust, and intrigues. The grand provost of the household, who, by his office, is to take cognizance of all crimes committed within the king's palace, immediately took the murderer into custody, and proceeded to bring him to trial, in like manner as had been observed in the case of the murderer of Henry III. at St. Cloud. An exempt of the provost's guard, having, in appearance or reality, gained some kind of confidence over the disordered mind of this miscreant, persuaded him to have the insolence to write a letter to his majesty from his prison *.

* The letter was as follows :

S I R E,

I am extremely sorry that I have been so unfortunate as to approach your sacred person ; but if you do not take the part of your people, before many years are passed, both you and the dauphin and some others, will come to an untimely end. It
 would

GENERAL HISTORY. 217

The letter is that of a madman, and is wrote in a stile agreeable to his abject condition ; but it

would be a pity that so good a prince should be in danger of his life, on account of the too great indulgence he shews to the clergy, in whom alone he seems to put all his confidence ; and if you are not so good as to alter this in a short time, very fatal consequences will follow, your kingdom not being safe ; because, unfortunately for you, your subjects have given you their dismissal ; this affair coming altogether from them. And if you have not the goodness for your people to order that the sacraments be administered to them when they are dying, which comfort you have refused them since holding your bed of justice, and the Chatelet having sold the goods of the priest who made his escape ; I repeat to you, that your life is in danger, on the information (which is very true) that I take the liberty of acquainting you with, by the officer who brings this letter, and in whom I have placed all confidence.

The archbishop of Paris is the cause of all the disturbance about the sacraments, by having refused them. After the cruel crime I have lately committed against your sacred person, the sincere confession I now take the liberty of making, will, I hope, entitle me to your majesty's goodness and clemency.

Signed DAMIENS.

On the back of this letter was written, in a flourish, *ne va-
rieur*, by, and according to the desire of the examination of the
aforesaid Francies Damiens, dated this 9th of January, one
thousand seven hundred fifty and seven, at Versailles, the king
being there.

Signed DAMIENS.

Le Clerc, du Brillet, and du Voigne, with a flourish.

A little lower was written ;

To the KING.

Here follows the tenor of a writing, signed DAMIENS,

Copy of the Note.

Messieurs

Chagrange ; Seconde,

Baiffe de Lisse.

discovers the real cause of his madness; it is evident that the complaints of the parliament and of the public against the archbishop, had turned the brain of the criminal, and had stirred him up to this attempt. It appeared, by the names of the members of parliament, mentioned in his letter, that he knew them, but not that they had ever made him acquainted with their sentiments; much less that they had ever spoke a word, that could have encouraged him to the commission of this crime.

Accordingly, the king made no scruple to put the examination of the prisoner into the hands of those members of the great chamber who had not resigned. He even would have the princes and peers be present at this trial, in order to render it more solemn and authentic in the eyes of the prying and distrustful multitude, who always see more than the truth in these shocking events. But, indeed, truth never appeared more manifest. It is evident, that this madman had

De la Guiomye.

Clement

Lambert.

The President de Rieux Bonnainvillers,

The President de Mazi, and almost all.

He must reinstate his parliament, and protect it, with a promise not to do any thing to the underwritten and company.

Signed DAMIENS.

Lower again was written;

In a flourish, *ne variatur*, by, and according to the desire of the examination, this ninth January, one thousand seven hundred fifty and seven.

Signed DAMIENS.

Le Clerc, du Brilles, and du Voigne, with a flourish.

The said letter, as well as the said writing, annexed to the suite of the examination,

no accomplice ; he constantly declared, that he did not design to kill the king, but that he had formed the design of making an attempt upon his person, ever since the banishment of the parliament.

While undergoing the torture, he declared, that “ he imagined he was doing a meritorious act in the sight of God ; and I have heard all the priests about the court of justice say the same.”

He persisted to the last, in saying, that it was the archbishop of Paris, the refusal of the sacraments, and the banishing of the parliament, that had induced him to make his attempt : he declared the same to his confessor, and died with the same sentiments in the midst of the same tortures that had been inflicted upon Ravallac.

His father, his wife, and his daughter, though innocent, were banished the kingdom, on pain of being hanged, if ever they came back again ; and by the same arret, all his relations were obliged to lay aside the name of Damiens, now become execrable.

This accident made an impression for some time on the minds of those, who, by their ill-timed disputes about religion, had been the cause of this atrocious crime. They saw but too plainly the direful effects of the spirit of dogmatizing and enthusiastic fury. No one could have imagined that a bull and billets of confession, would have had such fatal consequences ; but we generally find the follies and the wickedness of mankind thus connected with each other ; and that the spirit of Poltrot and James Clement, which was thought long ago extinct, still subsists. Reason in vain makes its way to the minds of the better part of the nation, the populace will
always

always be the dupes of fanaticism, and perhaps there is no other remedy against this contagion, but by enlightening the minds of that populace; whereas they are generally trained up in ignorance and superstition, and afterwards we are amazed to see the effects such an education produces.

During these transactions, sixteen counsellors, who had resigned their seats, were sent into banishment; and one of them, who was a clerk, founded a perpetual mass of thanksgiving to God, for having saved the life of the monarch who had banished him.

Several officers of the parliament of Bezançon were also confined in different towns, for having not only refused to register the edict for raising a second *vingtieme*, but having also issued a writ to seize the person of the intendant of the province.

The king, notwithstanding the attempt made upon his life, and the destructive war he had to support, applied himself strenuously to put an end to the disputes between the parliaments and the clergy; endeavouring to confine each order within its respective bounds. He again banished the archbishop of Paris for having disobeyed his injunctions, only in the election of the superior of a convent, and afterwards recalled him, thus rendering his authority more respected by his moderation. At length these heats subsided of themselves, and those members of the parliament of Paris, who had resigned their seats, returned to them again, and resumed their functions. Every thing now wears the appearance of tranquillity in the interior part of the kingdom, till a mistaken zeal, and a spirit of party, give birth to new troubles.

PLOT

PLOT to assassinate the King of PORTUGAL.

The Jesuits driven out of that Kingdom, and great part of FRANCE.

A Religious order is not a subject for history. No one of the historians of antiquity have entered into a detail of the institutions of the priests of Cybele or Juno; but it is one of the unhappineſſes of our European policy, that the monks, whose very institution seems to seclude them from the notice of the world, have made as much noise in it as the greatest princes, as well on account of their immense riches, as through the commotions and troubles they have continually raised since their first foundation.

The jesuits, as we have already shewn, were absolute lords in Paraguay, though they they acknowledged the king of Spain as their sovereign. The court of Madrid having by a treaty of exchange ceded certain districts in that country to Joseph of Braganza, king of Portugal, the jesuits were accused of having opposed this cession, and having stirred up those villages, that were to pass under the dominion of the Portuguese, to revolt. This complaint, joined to many others, occasioned the jesuits to be banished from the court of Lisbon.

Some little time afterwards, the family of Tavora, and in particular, the duke d' Aveiro, uncle to the young countess Ataïda d' Atouguia, the old marquis and marchioness of Tavora, her father and mother, and likewise her own husband, the count of Ataïda, and one of the brothers of this unfortunate lady, having, as they thought,

re-

received an irreparable affront from the king, resolved to be revenged. Revenge and superstition, for the most part, act in concert with each other. Those of our communion, who meditate the commission of any great crime, generally seek for casuists and confessors to quiet their scruples. The family who thought itself injured, applied to three jesuits, named *Malagrida*, *Alexander*, and *Mathos*, who gave it as their opinion, that killing the king was no more than a *venial* sin.

The better to understand this opinion, you are to know, that casuists make a distinction between sins for which a man goes immediately to hell, and those for which he goes only into purgatory for a certain time; between those for which a priest can give absolution, on saying certain prayers, or paying a sum of money in alms, and those which may be absolved without making satisfaction; the first of these are called *mortal*, the second *venial* sins.

Auricular confession gave rise to regicide in Portugal, as it had done before in many other countries. Such is the deplorable state of human nature (as we have too often had occasion to shew in the course of this history) that an institution, which was in its origin intended as an expiation for crimes, has been made use of to encourage the commission of them.

The conspirators being provided with their pardons for the next world, lay in wait for the king as he was returning from one of his country-seats alone, without any guards, and in the night-time, when they fired upon his coach, and wounded him desperately.

All the accomplices in this horrid affair were taken, except one domestic. Part of them
were

were broke alive upon the wheel, and the others beheaded. The young countess of Ataïda, whose husband had been executed among the rest, was, by the king's order, confined to a monastery for life; there to lament, in a sorrowful retirement, the fatal ills, of which she was supported to have been the cause.

Portugal not having as yet received the same lights as most of the other European nations, payed a more implicit submission to the authority of the see of Rome, than any of them; in-somuch, that the king could not give his judges authority to pass sentence of death upon a priest, who had attempted the life of his sovereign, without first sending to the pope for his consent. Thus, while other nations lived in the enlightened times of the 18th century, Portugal seemed to be buried in all the darkness of the 12th.

Posterity will hardly believe that the king of Portugal was two whole years soliciting the permission of the see of Rome to try jesuits who were his own subjects, without being able to obtain it at last.

The courts of Lisbon and of Rome were at open variance for a considerable time; in-somuch that there was room to believe that Portugal would at length throw off that yoke, which the English, its protectors and allies, had long since trampled under their feet; but the Portuguese ministry had too many enemies to venture upon an undertaking that the others had accomplished; and therefore gave at one and the same time a proof of the greatest resolution and most extreme condescension.

Such of the jesuit, who were deemed most culpable, were in prison at Lisbon, where the

L

king

king suffered them to remain, and sent all the rest of that order to Rome, banishing them the kingdom for ever, but did not dare to put to death the three who had been accused and convicted of having a hand in the plot against his life.

He had therefore no other expedient but that of delivering one of them, *Malagrida*, over to the inquisition, as a person suspected of having formerly advanced certain rash propositions, bordering upon heresy.

The Dominicans, who are the judges of the holy office, and assistants to the grand inquisitor, never loved the jesuits ; and therefore they were more ready to serve the king than the court of Rome had been. On this occasion, they brought to light a little book, entiled, *The Heroic Life of St. Anne, the mother of Mary, dictated to the reverend father Malagrida, by St. Anne herself* ; in which that saint tells him, that she was born without sin, as well as her daughter ; that she had wept and spoke in her mother's womb, and that she had made the cherubims weep. All the writings of *Malagrida* were equally sensible ; he had made predictions, and performed miracles, and that of being troubled with nocturnal pollutions in his prison at the age of 75, was none of the least.

All these things were brought in charge against him at his trial, and he was condemned to the flames for these only, without being asked a single question concerning the attempt against the king's life, because this is only a crime committed against a layman ; whereas, the others were crimes against God. Thus folly and absurdity were joined to the most horrible wickedness.

An

An assassin was tried only for being a prophet, and was condemned to be burnt only as a madman, and not as an assassin.

This affair of the jesuits in Portugal, and their expulsion from that kingdom, revived the old hatred against them in France, where they have always been powerful, and always detested. It happened that one La Valette, a professed monk of their order, who was chief of the missions at Guadalupe, and one of the greatest traders in all the French islands, broke for above three millions. The creditors applied for redress to the parliament of Paris. On enquiry, there appeared some reasons to believe, that the general of the jesuits order, residing at Rome, managed the effects of the society as he pleased; upon which, the parliament of Paris condemned the general and the rest of the order to pay all the debts of La Valette, with costs and charges.

This trial, which incensed the whole kingdom against the jesuits, brought on an enquiry into the very extraordinary institution, which could render an Italian, the general of an order, absolute master of the persons and fortunes of a company of French traders. In the course of this scrutiny it appeared, to the surprize of every one, that the jesuits order had never been formally admitted into France by any of the parliaments of the kingdom; the constitutions of the order were next subjected to examination, and all the parliaments agreed, that they were incompatible with the laws in being. All the old grievances and former complaints against this society, were revived on this occasion, together with upwards of fifty volumes of theological

decision, which seemed to render the lives of crowned heads unsafe.

Against all these accusations the jesuits made no other defence, than that the Jacobines and St. Thomas had wrote in the same manner; but this only proved the Jacobines to be as blameable as themselves: as to St. Thomas d'Aquinas, he had been made a saint of; but there are some decisions in his *ultramontane Summary*, for which the parliaments of France would order his book to be burnt on his very festival, was any one to attempt to put them in practice, to the disturbance of the government's tranquillity. Such is the following assertion, which occurs in many places of his book, that the church had a right to depose a prince, who is unfaithful to the church; and that in this case, regicide is lawful. With such maxims as these, a man may have the chance of obtaining heaven and a halter.

The king condescended to interest himself in this affair of the jesuits, and endeavoured, as he had done in all the other disputes, to terminate them peaceably. With this paternal view, he would, by an edict, have made a reformation in the order; but it is said, that pope Clement XIII. having declared, that the order must either remain as it was, or not exist at all, this speech proved the ruin of the jesuits. And being moreover accused of holding private meetings, the king gave them over to the parliaments of the kingdom, who, almost all, one after another, have taken from them their colleges and their effects.

The parliaments condemned them wholly on account of certain rules of their institution, which the king might have altered by his authority,

city, and also indeed for certain horrible maxims, but what were despised, and had most of them been published by jesuits of other countries, but formerly disavowed by those of France.

In all great affairs there is ever a pretext set forth to the view of the world, and a real cause which is kept secret. The pretext for punishing the jesuits was the dangerous tendency of those wicked writings, which nobody read: the cause was the ill use they had made of their great influence and credit. It happened to them in an enlightened and refined age, as it had done to the Knights Templars in times of barbarism and ignorance: pride was the ruin of both. The jesuits, however, have met with lenity amidst their disgraces; whereas the Templars were treated with the greatest cruelty.

It was neither the maxims of Sanchez, Lessius, nor Escobar, nor yet the absurd doctrines of the casuists, that proved the destruction of the jesuits; it was father Le Tellier and the bull that caused the almost total expulsion of this order in France.

The destruction of Port-Royal, which Le Tellier so unweariedly laboured after, has at the end of threescore years produced the same effects; and the persecution, which that designing and revengeful priest raised against a set of obstinate men, has rendered the jesuits execrable in France: a memorable example! but which, nevertheless, will not be found sufficient to warn any future confessor of a crowned head, if he is, what almost every courtier is, of an arbitrary and intriguing disposition, and has the direction of a prince of weak intellects, rendered still more feeble by age.

Of a remarkable Circumstance relating to LITERATURE.

THE principal end of this *Essay on History* being to follow the human mind in the various progresses it has made, and the obstacles it has had to encounter; I cannot, after having taken notice of the disgrace of the jesuits, omit a kind of persecution which the learned have of late undergone. The body of *Literati* begins to challenge much more attention than any of the religious orders, whose disputes we have related, as its members are spread throughout all nations. Those who are distinguished by their superior knowledge and understanding, insensibly govern others almost without perceiving it themselves, or exercising the prerogative of that empire they have acquired over the mind; prerogatives which are held so dear by all bodies in the state. This secret authority, which good writers obtain, has always been an eye-sore to those who have in vain attempted to usurp it.

A set of men, of great genius and true erudition, which cannot subsist without true philosophy, undertook, in the year 1652, to compile an immense dictionary of human knowledge, whose limits some amongst them had contributed greatly to enlarge. This undertaking met with the approbation and encouragement of all Europe, and the work itself became an important article of trade.

Several volumes had already appeared, which had given great satisfaction to the public; especially, those articles which were written by the persons who had the chief management of the work.

work. The book was published with all the necessary forms that could ensue its sale. The subscribers of all countries, who had advanced their money, thought it perfectly safe under the authority of the king's own seal, and expected to reap the profits of their subscription without any difficulty; for though the authors of this work intended it as a *free gift* to the human understanding, it was considered by the subscribers and booksellers as a kind of bargain in trade, which ought to have been duly fulfilled.

Envy, however, at length broke loose, and was quickly seconded by fanaticism. These two eternal foes to reason and learning, moved the parliament of Paris against this Dictionary, which, in itself, was by no means an object of judicial enquiry; and besides, by being licensed under the royal signet, seemed to be secured against any attempts.

The jesuits were the first who began the attack, in which they spared no pains to villify this noble work, because they had applied for their body to have the doing of the theological articles, and had been refused. They little thought, at that time, that they themselves, would, ere long, be condemned by the very courts whom they endeavoured to incense against the *Encyclopedia*.

The Jansenists effected what the jesuits had begun; they found that those who had dedicated their labours to this work, made impartiality their fundamental law; and consequently, could be neither friends to jesuits nor jansenists; and that having devoted themselves wholly to investigate and represent truth, they would raise an aversion in mankind to fanaticism.

These two parties, who were the most deadly enemies to each other, joined together on this occasion like banditti, (if I may be allowed the comparison) who suspended their private quarrels, to share in general plunder. They put on the usual mask of religion, and represented several of the articles as impious and heretical: and, by a refinement in wickedness, not unexampled, even in the greatest rage of religious controversies; finding that they could not attack, with any success, those articles in the *Encyclopedia* which most disgusted them, they pretended that the referring of one head, or article, to a future one, was done with a design to fill the last volumes of this work with a poison which was not to be found in the first; they, likewise, inveighed against other theological articles, which were found to be perfectly orthodox, merely from a supposition that they were written by those persons whom they wanted to destroy.

But how could the parliament find time to try seven large volumes in folio already printed, and prejudge those that were not yet published? The prosecutors put their memorial into the hands of the attorney-general, who had still less leisure to examine this prodigious collection of arts and sciences, which no one single person can possibly comprehend.

Unhappily this lawyer gave credit to the malicious calumnies contained in the memorial he had received, and drew up his report accordingly. The article of the *soul* was particularly attacked in these memorials, as it was supposed to have been written by those whom they were desirous to render suspected. This article was represented as tending to establish the doctrine of Ma-

Materialism ; upon enquiry, it was found to be a doctor of the Sorbonne, who was well known for his orthodox principles ; and who, instead of being a favourer of Materialism, had opposed it even so far, as to contradict the opinion of the great Locke with more piety than philosophy. This very extraordinary blunder was soon made known to the public, but not till after the parliament had passed an arret, appointing commissioners to make amendments in the work, and prohibiting the sale thereof in the mean time. However, the public still remained in hopes that it would at length be indulged with this work, which it wished for the more impatiently on account of the opposition it had met with.

This very singular anecdote, in the history of the human mind, which seemed a revival of the arrets that had been issued against Aristotle's Categories, may serve to shew us that every profession should keep within its own proper bounds, and that the civil law ought not to molest philosophy.

It would, however, have been very happy for the government, had it experienced no other disputes but of this kind, which are only inconveniencies and not disasters : nay, these slight perplexities, which have their source in the improvement of learning, and can never happen among an illiterate people, form a kind of panegyric on the age, which, however, it would be better that we could do without.

CONCLUSION, and Review of this
Historical Portrait.

I.

WHILE France was taken up with these domestic events, the war continued in Europe. The alliance between France and Spain seemed to promise those two crowns the greatest advantages over the English : and the house of Austria, whose hands this alliance had also strengthened, was not without hopes of triumphing over its enemy the king of Prussia. Formerly it was thought impossible, that the houses of Bourbon and Austria could ever be united ; and now that they were, it was imagined that they would be an over-match for all Europe, and yet the three pretty German provinces of Brandenburg, Hanover, and Hesse did, to the astonishment of Europe, counterbalance all the united forces of France and Austria.

England, by her navy alone, rendered this union of no effect ; and Portugal, which seemed on the point of falling a prey to the Spanish arms, was saved from destruction. Thus, what was thought the least probable came to pass ; of which we have had an hundred instances in the course of this extensive history, where we have seen the greatest events turn out directly contrary to the designs or expectations of mankind.

At one time we see an army of 100,000 French not able to preserve Cassel from falling into the hands of the enemy ; at another, the king of Prussia taking Schweidnitz in Silesia, in spite of the whole Austrian army ; and no sooner had

ago, would have been esteemed as persons of exemplary zeal and piety, are now looked upon with contempt and detestation.

II.

It is impossible, in so extensive an history, but that some errors must have crept in, and that the author has been sometimes mistaken in dates, or may have altered names, and even circumstances; but he ventures to assert, that all the principal facts are true. He has dwelt chiefly upon great events; and when he takes notice of lesser ones, it is because they marked the characters he was about to draw.

There are several points in history that have been contested, especially in the middle age: in this case he thought he could not do better than to adopt that side which appeared most agreeable to reason.

For instance: Eginhard, the secretary of Charlemagne, tells us, that Pepin made a donation of the exarchate to St. Peter*; but we find Charlemagne, by his will, bequeathing presents to his cities of *Rome and Ravenna*: then if Rome and Ravenna were really his cities, they could not be under the dominion of the pope. Therefore, by the words *made a donation to St. Peter*, we are to understand only a religious ceremony, or pious oblation, which could not confer any right, since Pepin had none himself upon the exarchate: for should any one pretend to say, This is mine, and I hold it from such a person, to whom it did not belong; certainly such a plea would not hold good either before God or man. After all, this is a very idle dispute; for it is not upon this donation, the

* See Vol. I. chap. vi.

In this view, and with these hopes, this *Essay on General History* is offered to the public. Humanity dictated it, and truth held the pen. There are some persons who are to be looked upon only as the enemies of society, that have accused the painter of this complicated piece with having thrown too deep a shade upon the crimes of mankind, particularly those of religion, and thereby rendered enthusiasm hateful, and superstition ridiculous.

The only reproach the author has to make himself on this head is, that he has not said enough; and the very charge of these enthusiastic bigots shew the necessity there was for such an history, since it proves that there are still some unhappy wretches troubled with this malady of the soul, who are afraid of being cured.

There will always be some uncivilised minds, even in the most polished nations and enlightened times. One of these has lately made his appearance in a considerable work (published by authority too) in which he defends the story of the nuns of Loudun, who were possessed with an evil spirit: and another madman like himself has pretended to prove, in another book, that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was not a designed fact, palliates all the horrors exercised on that day, commends the cruelties practised towards the Albigenses, and applauds the sentence passed upon John Hus, and Jerome of Prague, as just; but this excess of folly may serve as a proof of what has been advanced in former parts of this history, namely, that reason and sound judgment have been greatly improved of late years among the thinking part of mankind, since these writers, who, a century ago,

ment from that monarch and prince Henry his brother; and the two princes of Brunswick have distinguished themselves as much by their generosity as their victories. The princes, generals, and other officers among the French, have given shining proofs of that true nobility which forms their character.

The English made a collection for the support of the seamen they had taken prisoners; and this generous act proceeded from no other principle than that of an humane philosophy, which began to gain ground in most nations, and which will in all probability at length put a stop to religious wars at least, if it cannot prevent those that are the effects of an unhappy state-policy.

It is to this humane spirit that we owe the increase of academies in several kingdoms and republics, that have enlarged the human understanding by increasing its knowledge; and this same spirit, which easily communicates itself, has induced many learned men to render the earth fruitful; while others, of an ambitious turn, were bathing it in blood. In a word, there is the greatest room to hope, that reason and industry will continually make new advances; that the useful arts will multiply; that false prejudices, which are in the number of the greatest evils that attend mankind, will every day diminish among the princes and great men of the earth; and that sound philosophy, being universally diffused, will prove a ready consolation against the calamities incident in all times to human nature.

In

had Spain declared war against England, than the latter took from her the large island of Cuba, with a treasure amounting to more than an hundred millions, at that time in the Havannah.

France, now in a manner exhausted, and who had already made proposals of peace to the British court, was obliged once more to renew those proposals; and Spain was constrained to follow her example, and sit down contented with its losses. This war had begun about some contested lands, which the English laid claim to in America, and they now remained masters of all the immense country of Canada, and that part of the continent which is on the left-side of the river Mississippi.

To these vast possessions they have likewise added Florida; so that at length the English and Spaniards have got the whole continent of America between them.

This is the most remarkable event of this war, which is the one thousandth that the princes of Christendom have made upon each other since the dismembering of the Roman empire. Let those historians, whose countries have been at war, transmit to posterity a detail of the evils suffered, with all the ravages, losses, military measures, and inadequate resources on each side.

As I only consider the manners, and spirit of nations, in this general confusion, I shall remark, that in the midst of the cruelties inseparable from the hostile exercise of arms, we have had several instances in which a spirit of humanity and politeness has smoothed the rigours of war. The French who were made prisoners by the king of Prussia, experienced the mildest treatment:

original title of which never appeared, that the popes found their claim to the sovereignty of Rome and Ravenna, but on the concession of Rodolph of Hapsburg, which is preserved and shewn at Rome, and which is by far the most advantageous title.

A writer, equally ignorant and evil-minded, pretends to assert, that the kings Clotharius, Gontran, Cherebert, Sigibert, and Chilperic, had never any more than one wife at a time. Is it possible he could be ignorant that Clotharius I. married two sisters, Rugonda and Aregonda, as also Gonduica his sister-in-law, and three other wives besides her; and that he had almost always three at once, which was not at that time a custom with the kings of France? Is there any one ever so little conversant in history, who does not know that when his son Chilperic married a sister of queen Brunehaut, that his ambassadors were obliged to swear, in their master's name, that he would not marry any more during his wife's lifetime, which sufficiently shews that Chilperic had not then laid aside the practice of polygamy. Caribert gave three wicked rivals to this queen Ingoberga, and they all three have the name of wives. Gontran had two at one time, Marcatrude and Austregele: it should seem that he repented of his sin, for he has been ranked in the number of saints. There is not a French annalist who does not allow, that Dagobert I. married in the same year three wives, Nantilda, Usfgonda, and Bertilda. This fact is much better attested than the throne of massy gold, which St. Eloy is said to have made for them.

Many

III.

Many things might be added to this *Essay on General History*; but it was necessary to keep within bounds. The judicious and learned reader will make many in his own mind that are not to be met with even here. I shall therefore confine myself, with submitting the following conjecture on the antient Egyptians, which may serve for the history of other antient nations.

Vol. IV. ch. 131. p. 249. *After the words,* Egypt remained under this government for almost three hundred years,

Add what follows:

Here we have opened to us a vast field for historical conjecture. We see Egypt a long time kept in subjection by the people of antient Colchis, inhabitants of those barbarous countries, now known by the names of Georgia, Circassia, and Mingrelia. These people must undoubtedly have been much more respectable formerly than they are at present, since we find the first voyage of the Greeks to Colchis forms one of the small epochs of the Grecian history. It is certain that the customs and manners of the people of Colchis resemble greatly those of the Egyptians, from whose priests they had taken even the practice of circumcision. Herodotus, who had travelled into Egypt and Colchis, and who wrote for Greeks of learning and knowledge, leaves us no room to doubt of this conformity. Tho' an exact and faithful writer, he is nevertheless charged with having been imposed upon, in all that he relates after others. The Egyptian priests had persuaded him, that their king Sesostris formerly left his dominions
with

with a design to make the conquest of the world, and that having taken Colchis in the course of his conquests, the practice of circumcision had been retained in that country ever since.

In the first place, the design of making the conquest of the whole world is a romantic notion, that could never have entered into the head of a man in his right senses. To make war first upon their neighbours, either to extend their own dominions or for the sake of plunder; after this, to push their conquests further and further, as opportunity or a faint resistance made the way easy to them, has always been the progress of all conquerors.

Secondly, it is not probable that a sovereign of so fertile a country as Egypt, should waste his time and pains in conquering the dreary lands of mount Caucasus, inhabited by a race of hardy men as warlike as they were poor; an hundred of whom were more than sufficient to have checked the progress of the greatest armies of the soft and effeminate Egyptians.

It is nearly the same as if we were to suppose a king of Babylon, to have left Mesopotamia in order to make the conquest of Switzerland.

A necessitous people, bred up in wild and barren countries, where they live wholly by hunting, and are as savage as the beasts of their inhospitable regions, may quit those regions to go in search of, and attack more wealthy nations, but these latter never leave their agreeable and convenient dwellings, to make irruptions into uncultivated countries.

The barbarous inhabitants of the north have in all ages made irruptions into the southern countries. You have seen that the people of Colchis

Colchis held Egypt under subjection for near three hundred years, to begin at the reign of St. Lewis. You see also, that in every age, Egypt has fallen an easy prey, to whomsoever chose to make the conquest of it. It is therefore extremely probable, that the barbarous nations of mount Caucasus might have subjected the countries bordering on the Nile, but very little so, that Sesostris ever conquered those about Caucasus. In the third and last place, how comes it that, of all the nations whom the Egyptian priests pretended to have been conquered by their king Sesostris, did the Colcheans alone retain the practice of circumcision? It must have passed through Greece and Asia Minor to have come to the country of Medea. The Greeks, who were great imitators, would certainly have adopted this ceremony first; and one should imagine that Sesostris himself would have been more attentive to secure his dominion over so fine a country as Greece, and have subjected it to his laws, than in going to cut off the fore-skins of the Colcheans. Upon the whole, it is much more agreeable to the common order of things, that the Scythians, who inhabited the borders of the Phasis and Araxis, and were always a half-starved and warlike people, made irruptions into Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; and, after having settled about Thebes and Memphis, in these early ages, as they did afterwards in the time of St. Lewis, had carried back with them into their own country some part of the religious rites, and the customs of the Egyptians.

It is now for the intelligent reader to weigh these several arguments, ancient history furnishing

nishing us only with doubts and conjectures in regard to all the nations under the sun.

VI.

In modern history there is more certainty, and the picture of our weaknesses, our errors and superstitions, is likewise more interesting. It is by this history of our own follies, that we are taught wisdom, and not by the dark discussions of a vain antiquity. We have observed, in the course of this essay, that in all those countries where exorcisms began to be laid aside, they no longer heard of witchcrafts nor persons possessed by the devil *. It is true that they were much scarcer there than in other countries, but it would be doing too much honour to human nature to suppose that the belief of witchcrafts and possessions ceased entirely amoug the dissenters from the Romish communion.

Such is the weakness of the mind of man, and such the inconsistency of his thoughts, that a considerable time after exorcisms had been abolished among the reformed, they sometimes admitted witchcrafts and possessions by evil spirits. There were some persons burnt as sorcerers in Denmark, Sweden, Pomerania, and Holland: you will find a very authentic account of them all, in the *enchanted world* of Beker, and you will even find more than one protestant minister who believed, or pretended to believe, in these possessions and witchcrafts, lest, by entirely rejecting them, they should seem also to reject a part of christianity, which is founded on this belief; for, said they, if we allow that the devil inspires us with thoughts, and that these thoughts act upon our bodies, why may not the

* See Vol. VI. page 64.

devil have the same power over our bodies, as over our minds? This way of reasoning might be applied to such who were said to be possessed, but could never be a proof of the power of forcerers and magicians. But this is not the place for discussing these questions. Suffice it to know, that tho' human reason is freed from this prejudice, it retains several others, and often forms new ones; and that the number of wise men is very circumscribed, even in the most enlightened times.

V.

Vol. IV. chap. 135.] *After these words, An imprudent zeal, abolished in the course of time, what prudence had established,*

Add what follows.

One of the most horrible abuses of the monastic state, but which falls only upon those who having had the imprudence to enter into that state, have the misfortune to repent of it afterwards, is the licence which the superiors of convents assume to exercise the office of civil magistrates within their own precincts, which they carry to such a length as to shut up in a dungeon, for their lives, such of the monks, whom they have a dislike to, and imagine they have reason to distrust. There have been numberless examples of this ecclesiastical tyranny in Italy and Spain; there have been some likewise in France. This is called, in the monkish jargon, *being in peace; with the bread of tribulation and the water of anguish.*

In the history of the common law, which was partly composed by Mr. D'Argenson, minister for foreign affairs, a man of much more learning and philosophy than was generally imagined:

imagined: in this history, I say, you will find that the intendant of Tours set a person, who had been thus confined, at liberty, whom he with great difficulty found out, after the most exact search. You see also, that Monsieur de Coaler, bishop of Orleans, delivered one of these unhappy monks, who was shut up in a cistern, the mouth of which was covered with a great stone. But what you will not find there, is, that a severe punishment was inflicted on the superiors, for their inhuman insolence in assuming the royal authority, and exercising it in so tyrannical a manner.

VI.

Historical truth has obliged us to say, that Opas, the archbishop of Seville, was, in concert with count Julian, the first instrument which the Moors made use of to subject the kingdom of Spain *. This is so well known a fact, that it would have been as shameful to have passed it over in silence, as it is to contradict it. The chronological abridgement of the history of Spain calls bishop Opas *the wickedest priest, and the worst subject in the kingdom*.

With regard to Mahomet, it is of little signification, whether his father was the tenth or twelfth son of Abdal Moutaleb, or how long he was factor to the widow Cadische, to whom he was afterwards married†. Some think that he could neither write nor read, and that this makes his successes the more wonderful. They found this opinion on certain passages of the Alcoran, wherein Mahomet calls himself the *ignorant prophet*, and insinuates that he cannot write. The sense

* See Vol. I. chap. 18. † Vol I. chap. 4.

of which passage seems to be no more than this, that in himself he was ignorant and incapable of reading or writing well, but that the angel Gabriel had exalted him above himself; for it is hardly probable that he, who had been a merchant, and afterwards became a law-giver, he who was a poet and a musician, and who, on his death-bed desired that the proper things might be brought him to write, should have been ignorant of what was known to every child in Mecca.

As to what relates to Christianity, it is a point of a more delicate nature. The author has never set up to act the divine, he has confined himself to historical truth, and he has delivered facts as he found them, leaving the learned and sensible reader to draw his own inferences. If Calvin absolutely suffered Servetus to perish at the stake*, after having declared in his writings, that no man ought to be punished for following the opinion of Servetus; the author was obliged to relate this fact, without fear of displeasing a fanatic or an impostor. He was under the same necessity to set to view the ambition, cruelty, and abandoned lives of several of the pontiffs. They were men, and he wrote the history of mankind; besides, their vices serve as foils to set off the virtues of those of the present age.

VII.

In examining this history, we find some letters attributed to queen Christina†. She wrote one to cardinal Mazarine, on the subject of Monaldeschi's murder, in which she thus expresses herself:

† Vol. IV. chap. 113.

† Vol. VI. pag. 147.

“ Be

“ Be it known to ye all, servants and masters,
 “ that it has pleased us to act in this manner.
 “ I would have you to know, likewise, that
 “ Christina cares very little for your court, and
 “ still less for you. My will is a law that is to
 “ be respected. Silence is your duty. Know
 “ that wheresoever Christina is, she is Queen.”

This letter has no date. If Christina really wrote it, she can be looked upon only as a murderer gone mad. This princess had a great share of understanding, and acquired no small glory by the contempt she shewed for a throne ; but then she sullied all that glory by her conduct. If this letter is fictitious, it can be only the work of one of those grovelling slaves, who imagined that a Swedish woman, because she had reigned at Stockholm, had a right to cause an Italian to be murdered at Fontainebleau. On this occasion silence was so far from being the duty of cardinal Mazarine, that, as prime minister, he ought to have made Christina feel the whole weight of the royal indignation. It was the duty of the attorney-general to prefer an information against these ruffians who had been hired to murder a foreigner in the royal palace ; and, indeed, they ought to have obliged queen Christina to be present at the execution of the assassins whom she had kept in pay ; and afterwards to have quitted the kingdom herself : nay, there are many persons of strict justice who would have gone to more rigorous lengths.

VIII.

The author of this Essay cannot have been influenced either by regard, hatred, or interest ; and it is by no means from an inclination to flatter any one, that he has, in the age of Lewis

XIV. taken some pains to refute the mistaken notion which had been broached in public, that the clergy of France were in possession of the third part of the revenues of the nation. What had a layman and a recluse to hope from the favour of the clergy? He only meant to do honour to the truth he loves. The clergy have not eighty millions income, and that body has done its duty by assisting the necessities of the state, in proportion to its income. The French bishops have acquired the public esteem by their conduct, and by those extensive charities, which cannot fail to make them dear to their flock in particular. In general, the body of clergy, both dignified and others, in England and France, have done as much good, as religious disputes formerly did harm, in those two kingdoms.

Several wise and moderate persons seem to wish that a general toleration might take place in France, as well as in England. An indulgence of this kind, say they, at once peoples and enriches a country; and a wise administration may always prevent the evil effects arising from a mixture of different faiths, especially as the superior understandings of the principal citizens would be a check upon the extravagance or absurdity of the lower class.

XI.

In treating of Jansenism and Molinism, I have exhibited them in that ridiculous light which is the characteristic of their disputes, and have endeavoured to shew that, what is in itself contemptible, frequently becomes dangerous, from not being sufficiently despised. In proportion as the understandings of mankind are impressed with a proper notion of the bad tendency

dency and absurdity of these disputes, the public peace will be secured from any attempts to injure it.

We have shewn France happy and unhappy ; successful and unfortunate ; her military discipline encouraged and neglected ; her revenues copious and exhausted ; her navy respectable and ruined ; and her trade flourishing and languid. These are vicissitudes inseparable from human affairs : but we have not presumed to lay down rules for military discipline, or the better management of the revenue, the marine, or commerce. We write history, and not systems.

There are certain anecdotes in the age of Lewis XIV. of which the author was certain, and which have been in vain contested. That of the man of the steel mask*, which gave birth to so many strange conjectures, is not more extraordinary than true. The author has, very lately, been favoured with a letter from the lord of Palteau, a chateau near Villeneuve le Roi, wherein it is confirmed that this prisoner lodged in this chateau ; that several persons saw him come out of his litter ; that he wore a black mask ; and that he is still very well remembered in the neighbourhood. There was no necessity for this fresh proof ; but nothing ought to be omitted that tends to ascertain the truth of a fact so much out of the common road.

Another singular circumstance which relates to philosophy, and which is, perhaps, more remarkable in the history of the human mind, is the manner in which these two learned prelates,

* Vol. VIII. pag. 88.

Fenelon and Huet †, thought in their last moments. The treatise on *the Weakness of the Human Mind*, by which the bishop of Avranches finished his career, leaves no room to doubt what were his last sentiments. These verses of the archbishop of Cambray,

*Jeune j'étois trop sage,
Et voulois trop savoir, &c. ‡*

have been denied to be his : but it is so certain they were written by him, that his nephew, while ambassador at the Hague, caused them to be painted at the end of a folio edition of *Telemachus*, together with some other of his fugitive pieces. The copies which have these verses in them are very scarce, but they are to be met with in some libraries.

To conclude : in writing the history of *the Age of Lewis XIV.* the author was forty years seeking the truth, and he has delivered it.

† The first archbishop of Cambray, the other bishop of Avranches.

‡ Vol. IX. chap. 209, at the end.

